UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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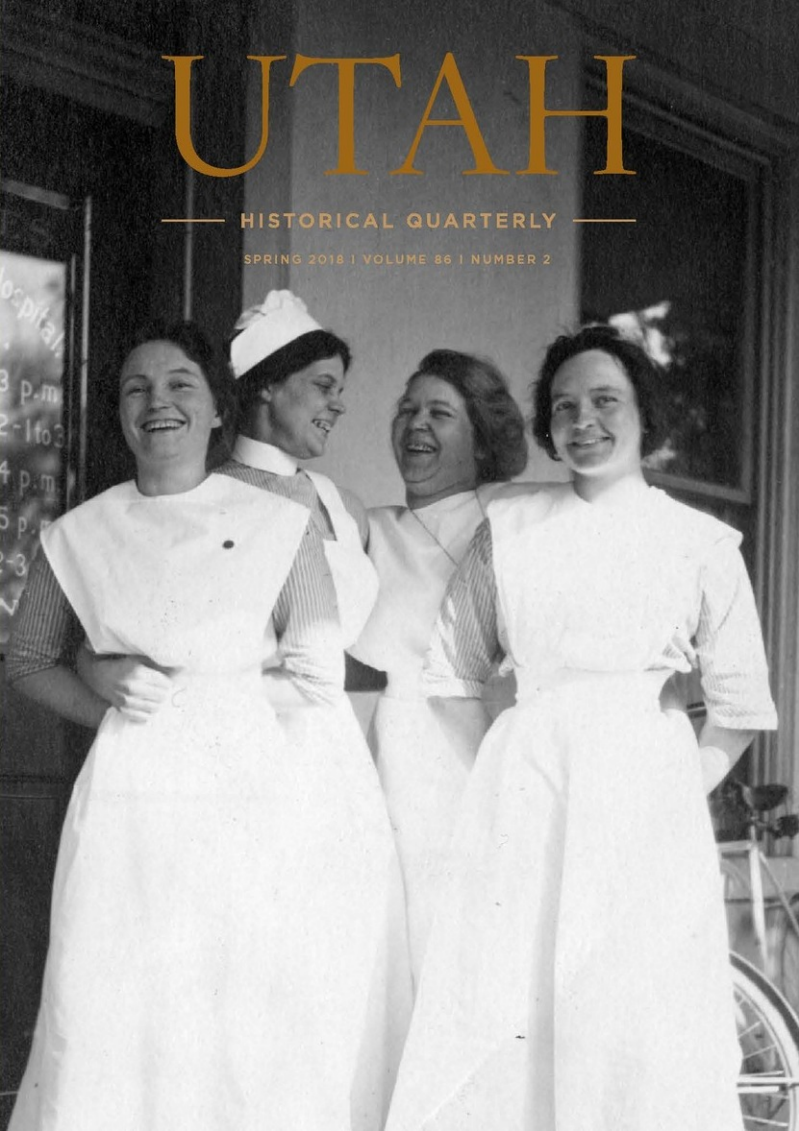

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Utah Historical Quarterly is Utah's journal of record, published quarterly on behalf of the Utah State Historical Society since 1928. The *UHQ's* mission, from its earliest issues to the present, is to publish articles on all aspects of Utah history, as well to present Utah in the larger context of the West. Even as *UHQ* continues its commitment to themes traditionally associated with Utah history, it challenges readers and authors to think across state lines to the forces of history, physiography, and culture that link Utah to a host of people, places, experiences, and trends beyond its geopolitical boundaries. *UHQ* seeks a regional approach, reflecting Utah's geographic and cultural position at the crossroads of the West.

UHQ's editorial style emphasizes scholarly credibility and accessible language. Manuscripts dealing with any aspect of Utah history will be considered. Submissions based on allied disciplines—such as archaeology, folklore, or ethnography—are also encouraged, so long as the focus is on the past.

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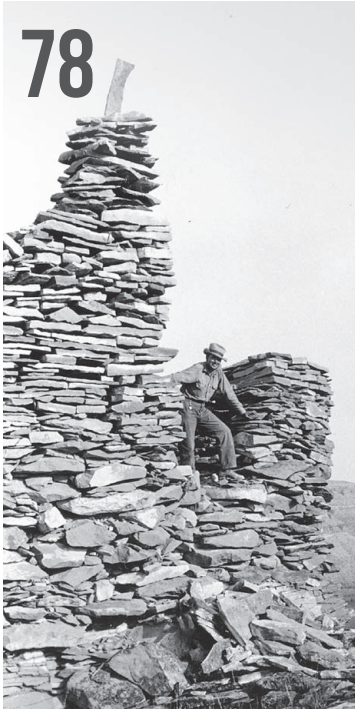

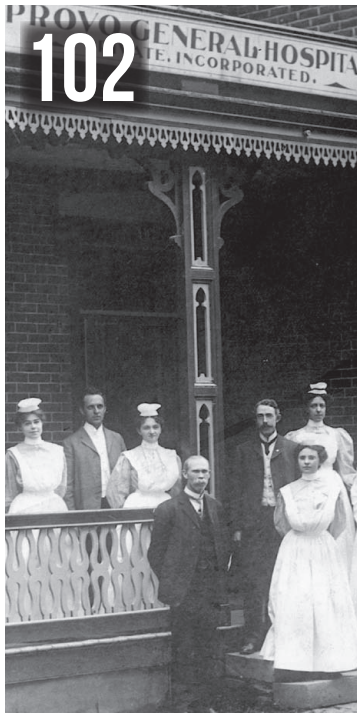

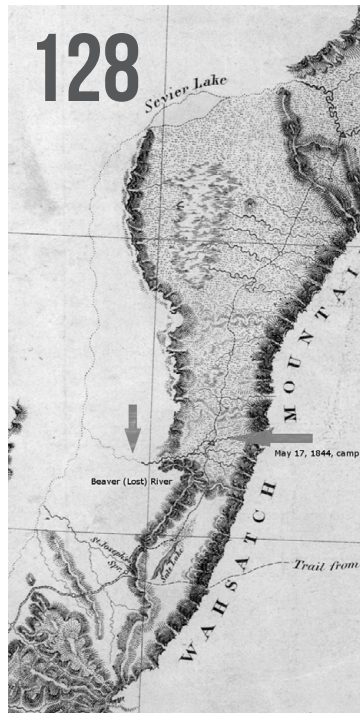

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IN THIS ISSUE

During the summer of 1931, a team from Harvard began exploring the rich archaeology of the Tavaputs Plateau and the Uinta Basin. The Claflin-Emerson Expedition, as it was known, was an ambitious venture that required some 400 miles of horseback travel. The expedition produced information of great value to other researchers that remained unpublished and essentially untouched for decades. In the spring of 1989, Jerry Spangler "stumbled upon" his first Claflin-Emerson Expedition site in Nine Mile Canyon, "A series of round, semi-subterranean pit houses on a bench overlooking the valley floor. Below one pit-house floor, we excavated the burial of a child. . . . At the time, I did not know that it was one of the many sites the Claflin-Emerson team first visited in 1931 in Nine Mile—no one did—because we did not have access to their 1931 field journals and they never published a report."[1] In the first article of this issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly,* Spangler joins with James Aton in revisiting the sites explored by the Harvard team and recreating the social aspects of this "last great horseback adventure in the history of American archaeology."

In the mid-1910s, Venice Foote, a young woman from Provo, Utah, followed in the footsteps of an older sister and began training at Provo General Hospital's nursing school. As Foote's life progressed, she married and had children but she also served as a private nurse for Reed Smoot's family and as the chief psychiatric nurse at the Utah State Hospital—accomplishments dependent upon her training. All told, some forty-four women graduated from Provo General's nursing program; it was, as Polly Aird argues, "small but significant." Because of their nursing educations, most of those women obtained meaningful work in hospitals, maternity homes, public health institutions, and elsewhere. Aird uses public records and, especially, the tools of genealogical research to reconstruct the school's history and painstakingly trace the life of each woman who attended it.

In our third article, Sheri Wysong ponders how Pruess Lake, a small feature on the Utah-Nevada border, came to be named for Charles Preuss, a cartographer who never visited it. Through careful comparison of historical maps, Wysong reaches a fascinating, complex answer. It involves many of the explorers and mapmakers of the nineteenth century—including William Ashley, Jedediah Smith, Charles Preuss, and David H. Burr—and a second lake, Beaver, that no longer exists. The history of the naming of Pruess Lake and its connection to Beaver Lake hints at efforts to honor Charles Preuss and teaches about the shifting representation of geography in the American West.

Fourth, we present a collection of speeches and essays that consider two difficult moments in American history: the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II and the use of the atomic bomb. Written by a scholar of the Japanese-American experience, the founder of the Topaz Museum, an attorney who argued *Korematsu v. United States* (1983), and a lifelong liaison between Japan and American, these pieces ask how we can thoughtfully deal with the past in public forums.

Our fifth piece, an update from the Fife Folklore Archives, discusses the background of the Cache Valley Utah Drug Court Oral History Project. This significant public history project used oral history methodology to preserve the experiences of drug court participants. Finally, as with too many recent numbers of *UHQ*, the spring issue closes with a memorial to a great scholar of Utah history.

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Notes

1 Jerry D. Spangler, "Re-discovering the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition," *Utah Historical Quarterly Web Extras,* accessed June 14, 2018, history.utah.gov/uhqextras.

The Claflin-Emerson crew excavating in Lower Hill Creek (ET6-26) on July 29, 1931. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.361, File 99380229.)

THE CRIMSON COWBOYS:
THE REMARKABLE ODYSSEY OF THE 1931 CLAFLIN-EMERSON EXPEDITION

BY JERRY D. SPANGLER AND JAMES M. ATON

In July 1931, the Claflin-Emerson Expedition from Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology set out north from Green River, Utah, toward the Tavaputs Plateau. Its members probably had no inkling that they were participating in what would be the last great horseback adventure in the history of American archaeology. The 1931 field season was the last of four summers of working the "Northern Periphery" of the Colorado Plateau, but it would be unlike any of the previous three. Not only was the area massive in its geographic scope (the Tavaputs Plateau is an area larger than the entire state of Massachusetts), it was also a rugged canyon wilderness with no roads or towns, an area largely unexplored, unmapped, and uninhabited. And the team's journey would involve traveling at least four hundred miles on horseback, sleeping on the ground for nearly two months, and battling the ever-present demons of the desert—thirst, fatigue, and suffocating heat—all in the name of scientific inquiry. We call the team the "Crimson Cowboys," a reference to Harvard University's official school color and nickname.

In a sense, this expedition marked the end of an era when archaeology was about adventure and discovery. Archaeology would eventually evolve into a structured science with laboratory analyses, mathematical formulas, predictive modeling, and other esoteric pursuits. Today, computers are more important to archaeologists than trowels. The Crimson Cowboys, then, are a reminder of a bygone day when archaeology was rooted in the thrill of discovery.

The Claflin-Emerson Expedition was, by all accounts, inspired by Alfred V. Kidder, the dean of his field and, in 1927, the curator of Southwestern Archaeology at the Peabody. Kidder's motivation was clear: explore the Northern Periphery, a term used to describe ancient peoples north and west of the Ancestral Puebloan centers of Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and Kayenta, which consumed the lion's share of archaeological attention in those days. But just how far did the periphery extend? How prevalent was this sphere of influence? No one really knew.

When Donald Scott, assistant director of the Peabody, and Henry B. Roberts, the project's co-director, first planned their excursions to southern Utah in early 1928, the Tavaputs Plateau was not even part of their itinerary. The 1928 expedition focused on the Fremont River country near Torrey, Utah, the Boulder Mountains south of that, and the Kaiparowits Plateau south of Escalante, Utah. In 1929 and 1930, they explored the Dirty Devil River, Moab, and Barrier Canyon (now known as Horseshoe Canyon) in the San Rafael Desert.[1] It was here that Scott and Roberts—with assistance from Noel Morss, whose classic study defined the Fremont Culture—came to recognize that the prehistoric peoples of the Northern Periphery were decidedly different from the Ancestral Puebloan cultures south of the Colorado River.[2]

The ancients here foraged and hunted more, their ceramics and architecture were simpler, and their rock art was generally far superior to that found south of the river. The expedition leaders were undoubtedly excited at the prospect of being the first archaeologists to describe and define a new culture, now known as the Fremont Complex.[3] But they still did not know the geographic reach of this new culture and how it related to peoples living to the south. The 1931 trip would help them answer that question.

An archaeological expedition of such scale had never before been attempted in the United States...

Alfred Vincent "Ted" Kidder. Kidder was the acknowledged dean of southwestern archaeology. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 2010.1.5, File 99380316.)

An archaeological expedition of such scale had never before been attempted in the United States, and no one to our knowledge has attempted anything similar since.[4] The fact that Scott and his crew pulled it off should have been an exclamation point in the history of American archaeology. But it wasn't. The expedition produced remarkably detailed field notes, sketches, and hundreds of photographs of immeasurable wealth to modern researchers, yet it was quickly forgotten. The anticipated monograph, to be written by Roberts, was never published. Scott transcribed the 1931 field notes and wrote a seventeen-page preliminary report, but neither document circulated among scientists outside the museum.[5] What should have been one of the greatest archaeological expeditions in American history ended up in boxes and file folders, hidden away in the basement of the Peabody Museum.

In the mid-1960s, a young scholar named James Gunnerson dusted off the Claflin-Emerson Expedition files for the first time while writing his dissertation at Harvard. Gunnerson faithfully synthesized some of the field notes of some of the expedition sites.[6] He basically ignored the photographs and the individuals involved in the 1931 trip: the benefactors, organizers, students, guides, and Utah cowboys and families who helped the Harvard boys. Gunnerson visited a handful of the sites that were accessible by truck, but the vast majority were not visited by archaeologists until 2003. Since that time, using photographs, field journals, and other archival material, the Colorado Plateau Archaeological Alliance (CPAA) has been identifying, documenting, and re-photographing the majority of the hundreds of sites that the 1931 expedition recorded in and around Desolation Canyon, the Uinta Basin, and points north.

Alfred V. Kidder's desire to survey the Northern Periphery needed financial backing, which he found in two wealthy Harvard alumni, William H. Claflin, Jr. and Raymond A. Emerson. Both were interested in archaeology and the West. Emerson was the grandson of the preeminent American philosopher, essayist, and poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Claflin was curator of Southeastern Archaeology for the Peabody and, with Emerson and their wives, had excavated with Kidder at Canyon de Chelly in northeastern Arizona in 1925.[7]

A 1900 Harvard graduate, Donald Scott returned to his alma mater in the late 1920s to pursue graduate work in his true passion, archaeology, after a lucrative career in cotton and publishing. Scott was fifty-two years old and wealthy when he embarked on the last of the four expeditions. He was already a seasoned archaeologist and a thorough organizer.[8]

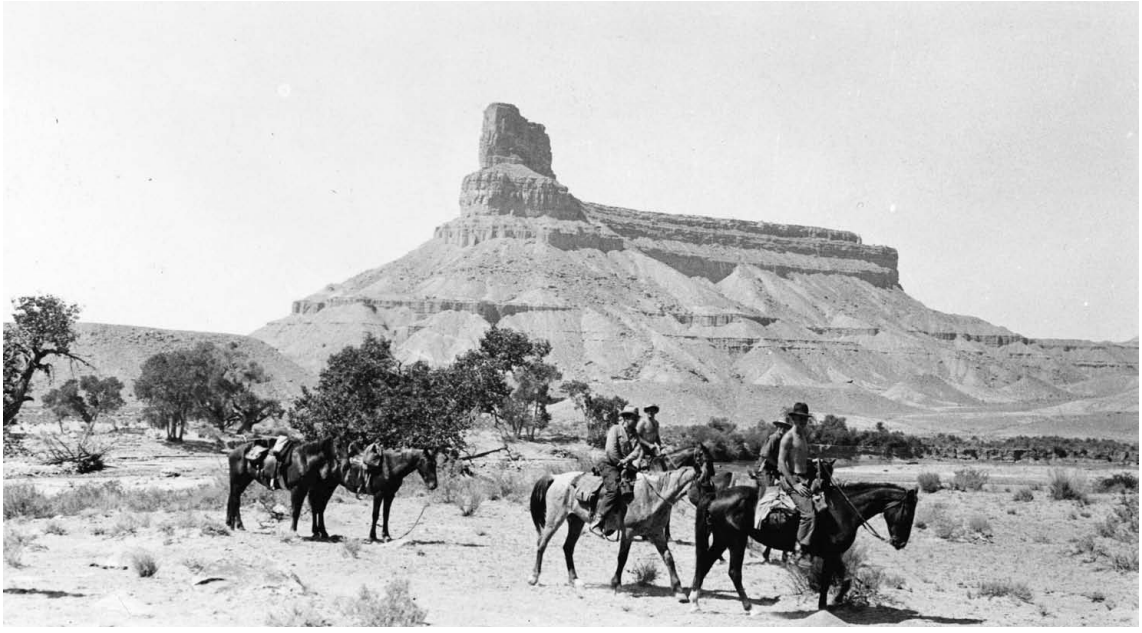
Scott's cohort, Denver born-and-educated Henry Buchtel Roberts, was a rising star in the Harvard anthropology graduate program.[9] He was supposed to write the monograph entitled "Peripheral Cultures of the Southwest with Special Reference to the Archaeology of Utah," which he never completed because of health and other issues.[10] Roberts might have been too busy (he took a position at the Carnegie Institution in 1930), and he might have figured that Noel Morss's 1931 classic report on the Fremont had said it all. Or perhaps the Peabody just did not have the funds.[11]

Of the five Harvard students, only one, graduate student John Otis (J. O. or "Jo") Brew, had working-class roots.[12] Fifteen years later Brew would achieve fame for his work farther south at Alkali Ridge in San Juan County, Utah.[13] All four undergraduates—William Benton Bowers II, Alfred (Alfie) Kidder II, James Thurber Dennison, and Waldo Emerson Forbes—had family connections to the Peabody, to Scott, or to Emerson. All had previous experience in the field.[14]

Perhaps the one individual most important to the success of the expedition was the man who actually knew the canyon country. David Dexter Rust was about as seasoned and expert of a guide that the Colorado Plateau could offer. He was born near Payson, Utah, in 1874 to Mormon parents and was educated at BYU and Stanford.[15] He could quote Shakespeare, John Dewey, or Susan B. Anthony. Rust guided all four years of the Claflin-Emerson expeditions, but his last was the most challenging because the terrain was difficult and he did not know the Tavaputs Plateau. He was smart enough, however, to hire local men who professed to know the country, at least somewhat: Dafton Thompson and Oliver Rasmussen.

Scott, the students, Rust, and his guides all gathered in Green River, Utah, on July 10, 1931, to purchase last-minute items at J. Beebe and Sons and W. F. Asimus general stores. There would be no tolerance for error. Once the group started into the wilderness, they could not backtrack for forgotten camp equipment or missing supplies. Resupply along the route would not be an option until weeks later in Hill Creek.

On July 13 the expedition members checked out of the Midland Hotel and headed north up the east side of the Green River.[16] After more than a year of planning, they were finally on their way: nine men on horseback, each trailing a pack animal. July days in Green River are brutally hot, usually in the triple digits, and July 13 was probably no different. But heat did not deter the group as they set out to do what



Members of the Harvard crew on horseback, beginning their trek. Gunnison Butte, which is north of Green River, Utah, is visible in the background. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.1028, File 99380318.)

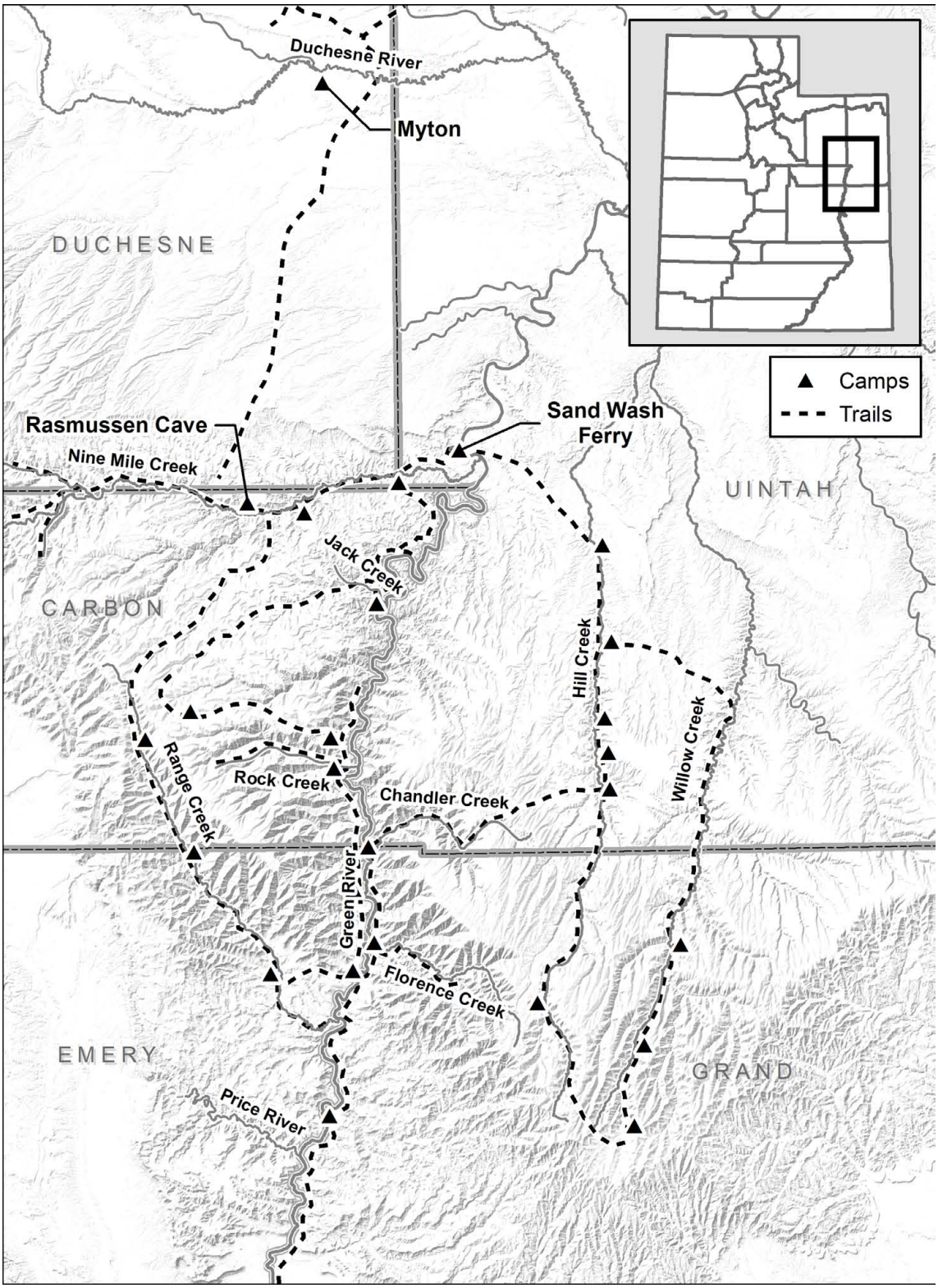
no archaeologists had done before, probe the heart of the unknown Tavaputs Plateau. The crew took two days to travel thirty-nine miles to the Cradle M Ranch near the mouth of Florence Creek.[17]

The following morning, July 15, saw the expedition split into two groups. Donald Scott and Waldo Forbes made a brief foray into Florence Creek to explore for ruins, while the remainder of the party headed to the mouth of Chandler Creek, about eight river miles to the north.[18] Scott and Forbes's ride into Florence Creek marked the first time anyone had directly observed the remarkable archaeology of the Tavaputs Plateau with scientific intent. In all, Forbes's field journal mentions four cliff granaries and three rock art sites, none of which we (the CPAA) have re-identified.[19]

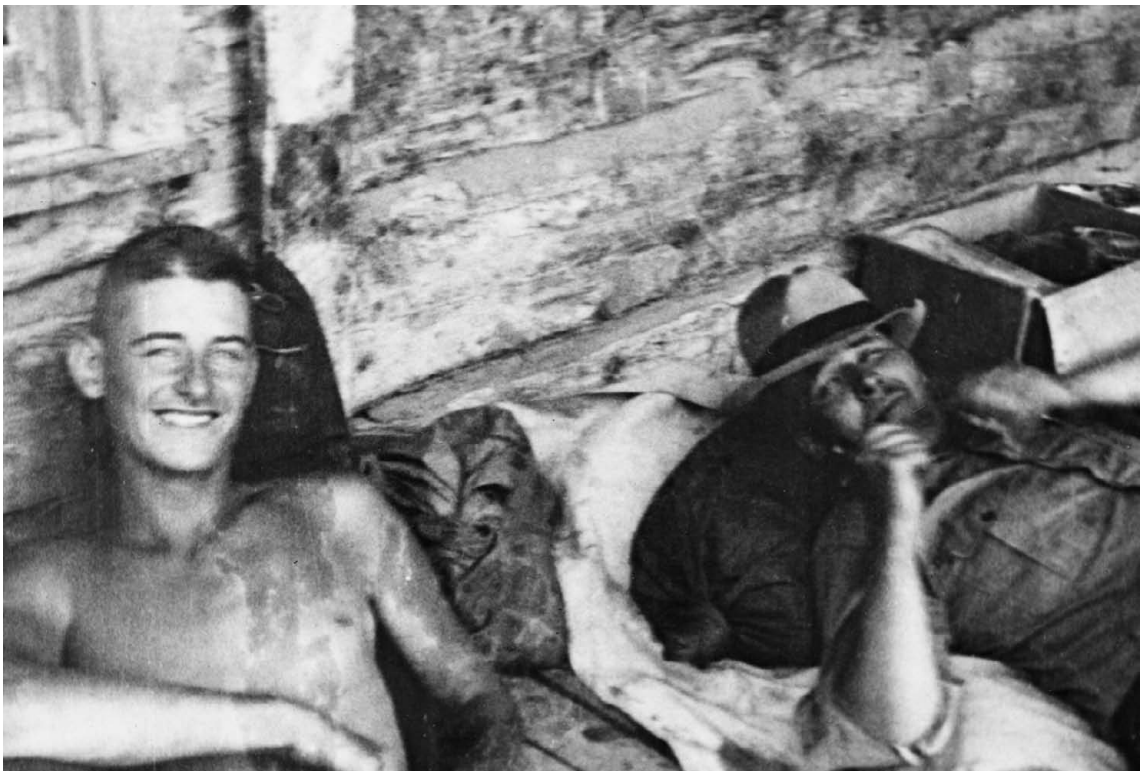
This number of sites certainly represents a tiny fraction of the sites actually located here. During our informal reconnaissance during the last decade-and-a-half, we have noted nearly a dozen granaries and another dozen or so rock art sites, none mentioned by Scott and Forbes. There are many score more. Scott and Forbes might have been rusty since this was their first foray into the area; further, spotting sites from horseback is much more difficult than finding them on foot. This discrepancy between the number of archaeological sites identified by the Peabody group and the present-day CPAA has become a major theme of our reassessment of the 1931 expedition.

Upon leaving the creature comforts of the Cradle M, the Claflin-Emerson party followed a narrow cow trail along the eastern side of the Green River to Chandler Creek. This drainage was undoubtedly home to hundreds of prehistoric farmers over the centuries. The mouth of the canyon next to the Green River featured the optimal combination of conditions for farming: a broad, flat floodplain with sandy soils renewed annually by river flooding, a permanent creek with fresh water for drinking and irrigation, and plenty of fuel to abate the winter's cold.

As with Florence Creek, modern archaeologists have not formally investigated this canyon, but one can see evidence of past cultures everywhere, from the rock art on the cliff walls to massive stone and adobe granaries on the cliff ledges. Yet based on the sparse journal entries, it appears that the expedition spent very little time actually looking at the ruins of Chandler Creek.



Some of the areas visited by the Claflin-Emerson Expedition on the Tavaputs Plateau. (Map created by Deb Miller, Utah Division of State History.)



Waldo Forbes, *left*, and J. O. Brew, *right*, after their arrival at the Webster City Ranch on July 18, 1931. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.465, File 99380250.)

On the morning of July 16, the reunited team packed their horses and mules for the long ascent of Chandler with the goal of reaching Hill Creek to the east. They had found no fewer than ten storage structures, some of them quite large, within a hundred meters of each other—an exceptionally high density by any standard of measure. These granaries apparently drew their attention because the crew stopped long enough to look. At this point, they had already passed more than a dozen granaries without noticing them, some of them impressive and hard to miss.[20]

Then they got lost, spending a whole day detouring into "wrong canyons." The following day, on July 17, Rasmussen found the way out to the top of the Tavaputs.[21] While the site density in Chandler is probably akin to better-known Nine Mile Canyon to the west, it appears that Scott was hell bent to get to Hill Creek where he knew there were plenty of ancient ruins ripe for excavation. He gave Florence and Chandler short shrift.

On Saturday, July 18, the Crimson Cowboys broke camp and descended Big Doggie Canyon, a short ride of about seven miles to its intersection with Hill Creek.[22] Within a few hours, the crew was lounging and napping at the ranch known as Webster City, a collection of ramshackle buildings swaying under decades of decay.

Rasmussen apparently did not know this country prior to his arrival here in July 1931, but he was a designated guide nonetheless. Over the next week, he led an exploring party that ascended Hill Creek to its headwaters, then crossed a divide to the head of Willow Creek, a parallel drainage to the east, and finally back to the main base camp in Hill Creek. In terms of archaeological discoveries, the trip was largely a bust. Yes, they described nineteen sites during their foray, but most were small rock art panels or rock shelters. Not surprisingly, Scott's subsequent report paid scant attention to the Willow Creek investigations.[23]

James Dennison, Waldo Forbes, and Alfred Kidder joined Rasmussen on the Willow Creek trip. Kidder was placed in charge—he was the most experienced archaeologist because of the many years he had worked alongside his father at Pecos Pueblo in New Mexico—and Forbes created a map. Willow Creek is noted today for its abundant rock art sites, and it appears the crew was diligent, at least in the beginning, in noting everything they saw. But the number of rock art sites seemed to have overwhelmed them, and they made little progress as they inched their way downstream.[24]

Near the Hazelbush Ranch at the mouth of Dry Gulch, they discovered an outcrop—locals call it Mushroom Rock—with a commanding view of the valley (ET6-18).[25] On the top, the ancients had erected a dry-laid stone wall defining the outer perimeter that was in places nearly a meter high, limiting easy access. This site, the first substantial architecture they had encountered, is commonly referred to in this region as a "fort." Archaeologists, who prefer the more neutral term "tower," tend to agree such features were defensive in nature. With only a few exceptions north of the Colorado River, they are unique to the Tavaputs Plateau. Towers usually stand on the bedrock surface of a prominence high above the valley. Dry-laid rock walls block or greatly limit access to the towers, and in most instances they possess few artifacts. This suggests they were used only temporarily, perhaps as places of refuge during times of perceived threat. Most tower sites feature a single room, although a few have three or four rooms on the pinnacle top.

This particular tower site (Kidder called it a "lookout") loomed ninety meters above Willow Creek on a nine-meter-high pinnacle top. Access required a steep climb up a slippery shale slope to the base of the pinnacle. The crew then leaned a pole into a crevice and shinnied up the natural chute to the top of the fourteen-by-twenty-three-meter pinnacle. Unlike other towers in the region, traces of adobe exist that once held the wall matrix in place. The expedition found a few artifacts nearby.[26]

After seven days exploring a few more sites, they crossed a divide between Hill Creek and Willow Creek, riding another seventeen-and-a-half miles to the Aus Wardle Ranch on Hill Creek, where Donald Scott and the rest of the expedition had their base camp. But that shortcut to Hill Creek also meant they never saw the spectacular historic rock art panels in lower Willow Creek—some of the finest examples to be found anywhere.

While the Willow Creek team was exploring sites to the east, Scott put Brew, Bowers, Dave Rust, and Daft Thompson to work in Hill Creek. The prehistoric architecture of Hill Creek Canyon is spectacular by any gauge: stone towers top what seem to be inaccessible mushroom-shaped outcrops. Clusters of stone rooms, perhaps small villages, perch high on defensible mesa tops aloft the valley floor. And the canyon walls boast hundreds of pecked and painted images depicting the natural world and the supernatural. In some instances, the tower walls stand twenty feet high or more, inspiring awe and myriad questions. Who were these ancient builders? What was the purpose of these buildings that have stood the test of time? If indeed defensive, who were they afraid of and why?

The Hill Creek ruins were no secret in 1931, but they had never really been studied, and no trained archaeologist had ever sunk a shovel into them. In fact, excavating the Hill Creek ruins appears to have been one of two overriding priorities of the Claflin-Emerson Expedition that year; the other was excavating Rasmussen Cave in Nine Mile Canyon. Hill Creek might well have been an internal measuring stick by which the success—or failure—of the 1931 expedition would be gauged.

Hill Creek came to Scott's attention through two brief reports written by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution.[27] Fewkes and his team had base-camped at the Taylor Ranch in 1916, the same ranch that served as a two-day camp for the Claflin-Emerson Expedition fifteen years later. In addition to excellent drawings and photographs, Fewkes asked the questions that have bedeviled archaeologists ever since. He said, for example, that their locations suggest,

> that these towers were constructed for lookouts and for defense, but the questions might very pertinently be asked

> why should either of these uses necessitate three or four almost identical buildings grouped together, when one would be sufficient? Why are some of them in places where there is no broad outlook? The massive character of the walls suggests a fortification, but why if defense were the only explanation of their use would not one large building be preferable to many, especially as it would be more easily constructed?[28]

Fewkes's questions probably whetted Scott's appetite to study the ruins more closely because, by 1931, most places in the Southwest had already been pilfered and picked over by looters as well as by museum expeditions from Europe and the eastern United States.[29]

Another character also had his sights set on Hill Creek at this time: Dr. Albert B. Reagan, a school teacher with the U.S. Indian Field Service in Ouray and a geologist by training. Reagan was not a trained archaeologist, but he had spent decades exploring and excavating archaeological sites, publishing scores of short reports in natural history journals as he went. He had somehow cajoled the Secretary of Interior into giving him an excavation permit for public lands. By Reagan's own account, he first investigated Hill Creek sites in 1930 (and most years after that through 1935), using Fewkes's report as a road map to find those sites described in 1916. In some instances, the Harvard boys arrived at sites only to find that someone, probably Reagan, had beat them to the punch.

On July 19, Donald Scott and his company stopped at the Elery Wild ranch about a mile above Horsecorn. They found a few structural sites and a granary, all of which they excavated. Elery Wild told Brew at this point that "Utes were in the canyon for a considerable time, and remains of their camps are all over, both on the cliffs and the flats."[30] The Harvard crew seemed to have dismissed Ute sites altogether.

Crew members use ropes to reach the top of Pedestal Rock (ET6-4) in Hill Creek, July 21, 1931. Note that guide Dave Rust is walking into the frame on the left. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.303, File 99380224).

At the Wardle Ranch farther north, the expedition found itself surrounded by ruins and rock art on every side—they were in the thick of it. They excavated a number of towers with structures below. They did not discover much, but enough to lay to rest Fewkes's idea that the structures were not residential. All three structures had charcoal layers at the base of the pinnacle, along with animal bones from cooking fires, and a mano and a metate that implied seeds had been processed into meal.[31]

By the following day,[32] they had begun to investigate the impressive ruins at Fortification Rock (ET6-7), situated on an isolated, narrow mesa top at the mouth of Horsecorn Canyon just above the Wardle Ranch.[33] Isolated mesa tops are common in this part of the world, and small villages often perch on top of them, many with defensive walls blocking access to the main living area.

The Crimson Cowboys were the first trained archaeologists to plant shovels and trowels in these ruins, but they weren't the first to dig here. They found that someone had already left his mark, "gophering," as the crew referred to it.[34] The "gopher holes" might have been Reagan's excavation pits from the year before.[35]

Descending from the mesa, they also found another residential site within a shelter at the base of the cliff.[36] The Peabody Museum later submitted four chunks of charcoal from this site to the Tree-Ring Laboratory at the University of Arizona. All the samples revealed outside tree-ring dates between AD 957 and AD 1073, the height of the Fremont Complex occupation of the East Tavaputs and West Tavaputs Plateau.[37]

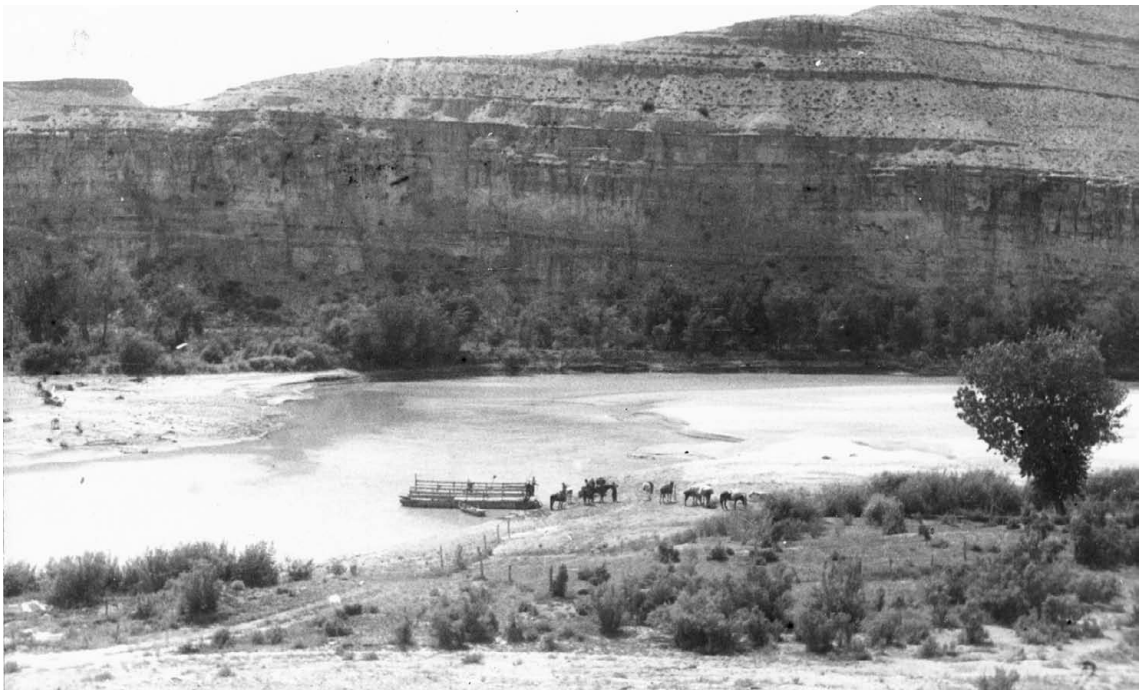
By June 25, 1931, the Willow Creek group had rejoined Scott's team. About a mile above the Taylor Ranch they stopped and scaled a site known locally as the Jugs: twin pinnacles with a structure on top of each and another structure at the base (ET6-12).[38] Fewkes and Reagan had both been there previously.[39] North, at the mouth of West Squaw Draw and the Taylor Ranch, they visited what they called Fort Rocking Chair (ET6-13), one of the largest and most enigmatic of all the sites they encountered.[40] Fort Rocking Chair was a massive stone tower on a point 250 feet above the ranch, with finely coursed stone walls extending about twenty feet high. The amount of wall rubble suggested it was once even higher. On the interior, a stone bench six to ten feet wide and about twenty feet long rimmed one side of the room. The bench led Fewkes to conclude that it was a kiva, which would make it unique in the Tavaputs country.

By July 28, the group had left Hill Creek, traveling west over the plateau and descending to Sand Wash, where they crossed the Green River on Hank Stewart's ferry. At this point, over the course of only eleven days, they had documented seventeen sites and excavated nine others. They had investigated roughly forty miles of Hill Creek and its tributaries. If artifacts for the Peabody collection were a priority, then they did not have much to show for their efforts. They documented some important towers, but even now, the canyon itself remains largely unknown and the sites undocumented. Hill Creek is still an important piece of the puzzle that is the Fremont Complex in this part of the world. It will be up to future generations of archaeologists, working with the Ute tribe, to finish piecing that puzzle together.

The Crimson Cowboys crossed the river and headed up and over to Nine Mile Canyon, whose archaeological riches were hardly a well-guarded secret in 1931, at least not to locals. For this team, most likely, the initial seed of interest was planted by one of their own, Noel Morss, a member of the 1928 and 1929 Claflin-Emerson Expedition. In 1929, Morss and his local guide Clarence Mulford took a break from their investigations near Torrey in central Utah and drove roughly a hundred miles north to Nine Mile Canyon. Once there, Morss noted an abundance of masonry architecture but did not assign any great antiquity to it, attributing it—incorrectly—instead to more recent Ute arrivals. But Morss did stop long enough to excavate Rasmussen Cave, where he recovered the burial of a child.[41]

The 1931 expedition members focused their attention on the area around three ranches in lower Nine Mile Canyon: Oliver Rasmussen's place at the mouth of Dry Canyon, Neal Hanks's lower ranch two miles farther east at the mouth of Cottonwood Canyon, and Al Pace's ranch another four miles to the east at the mouth

A massive stone tower at Fort Rocking Chair (ET6-13) above the Taylor Ranch, as photographed on July 27, 1931. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.27, File 99380244.)



The expedition prepares to cross the Green River on the Hank Stewart's ferry at Sand Wash, July 30, 1931. (©President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.24, File 99380238.)

of Maxies Canyon. Over the next two weeks, the expedition would base camp at all three locations, paying the cash-strapped ranchers thirty-five cents a day for pasturage for their horses, and, on occasion, thirty-five cents per person for an evening supper.[42] But they had a skeleton crew: Alfred Kidder, J. O. Brew, guide Dave Rust, and wrangler Daft Thompson. Donald Scott was in Salt Lake City, and Dennison, Bowers, and Forbes would depart on August 2 on an epic journey around the West Tavaputs, Plateau, Range Creek, and Desolation Canyon.

The amount of archaeological sites in lower Nine Mile Canyon spectacular. In some areas, the number approaches nearly a hundred per square mile—far more than Kidder and Brew could hope to visit in the short time allotted to that area. Brew, who was in charge of the Nine Mile crew in Scott's absence, seems to have preferred a slow, methodical approach to the investigations.

Brew, Kidder, and the crew began recording and excavating sites on August 1 near the mouth of Bull Canyon at what is now called Sunstone Village, one of the largest village sites in the canyon.[43] Later, near the Pace ranch, Brew and Kidder found "the Pinnacle," now known as Nordell's Fort. It is a massive stone tower perched on a bedrock outcrop high on the south side of Nine Mile Canyon. It remains the best-preserved and best-crafted prehistoric structure anywhere in the Tavaputs Plateau region.

Scott had probably returned from Salt Lake City by the evening of August 5 or the morning of August 6, just in time to help the crew move the base camp about four miles up canyon to

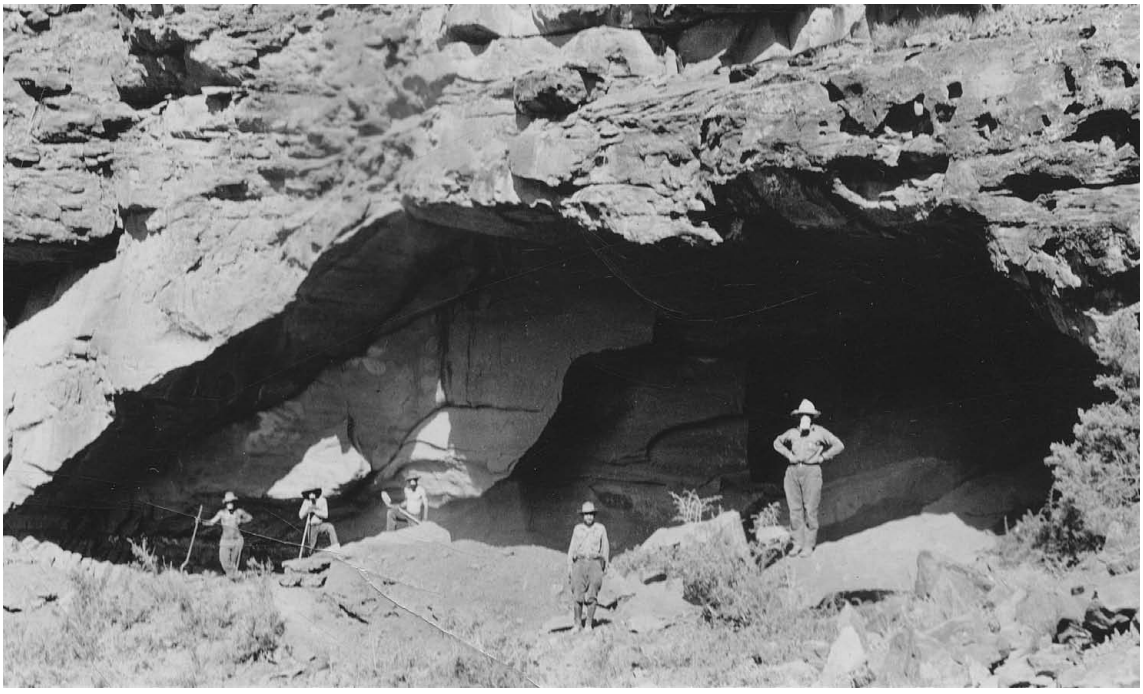
The amount of archaeological sites in lower Nine Mile Canyon is spectacular.

the Neal Hanks Ranch, near the mouth of Devils Canyon. His return seemed to have sparked a renewed urgency to investigate more and investigate faster. Over the next several days, they documented sixteen more sites, conducted important excavations at Devils Playground (PR4-25) and Rasmussen Cave (PR4-31), and obtained a wealth of photographs of various sites and rock art that have proven invaluable to later researchers. And the Rasmussen Cave excavations would greatly influence archaeological understanding of the Tavaputs Plateau for generations to come.

Rasmussen Cave had been an expedition priority since day one of the adventure. In 1929, Morss excavated a small area of the shelter and recovered a burial. What else might be found with a more thorough investigation? For the most part, the expedition so far had little in the way of spectacular artifacts, mostly potsherds, stone flakes, and corncobs. Rasmussen Cave represented their opportunity to change that.

The cave itself is quite large by Nine Mile standards, nearly thirty meters wide and six-and-a-half meters deep. The back walls display dozens of vivid pictographs in red, white, and black, as well as pecked figures. A nearly life-sized elk painted in red dominates the catalog of images, but there are other unusual elements here, including animals that appear to be dancing on their hind legs. The boulders at the east end of the cave are covered in petroglyphs and bedrock metates. Unlike the other shelters the 1931 team had so far investigated, this one had all the signs of an extended occupation.

After months of anticipation, it is hard to imagine what must have passed through their minds when they finally saw Rasmussen Cave. Instead of a pristine cave ripe for excavation, Scott lamented that "it had been gophered by a large number of local enthusiasts, and the total number of burials removed, according to various reports, runs between three and eight."[44] Looters had beaten them to the site, ravaging it only a few weeks before. Digging on private property is legal if the land owner grants you permission. We do not known whether Rasmussen, the owner, gave such permission before heading off to Green River to join the Claflin-Emerson Expedition. If he did, it would have been a monumental betrayal of trust: he knew that Scott and



The crew pauses from excavating for a photograph in front of Rasmussen Cave in Nine Mile Canyon. (©President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM No. 2005.1.110.1.121, File 99380230.)

company intended to dig there and had granted them permission to do so.

One of the gophers was likely Alfred E. Gaumer who found a "puppy" associated with the burial of a child. Another one of his excavated burials had a string of beads associated with it, 2,771 beads in all.[45] Because of such looting, the excavation's focus shifted to the "refuse pit" or midden. There they found the byproducts of daily life but nothing remarkable that warranted elaboration.

On the eastern part of the midden, however, they found a body with artifacts from a different time period. The individual apparently lived in the Fremont era (AD 600–1250), while the other artifacts nearby—especially the leather leggings under the head—pre-date the body by at least 300 years (having come from the Basketmaker II era, 500 BC to AD 500). Numerous possibilities exist to explain this disparity, especially given the recent dating of the body by archaeologist David Yoder.[46]

Why the difference in dates? Yoder provides several different explanations. First, one of the two radiocarbon dates could simply be wrong, for materials can get contaminated during museum storage. Another possibility is that the artifacts Scott and Brew thought were associated with the burial were actually not part of it. Rather, a deceased Fremont farmer just happened to be buried over the top of artifacts left behind by earlier occupants, making the burial and Basketmaker-like artifacts unrelated to one another.

Or maybe the leather cord used to bind the leggings (Yoder dated the cord that wrapped the leggings, not the leggings themselves) had been floating around the cave for some time, and the owner of the leggings recycled the loose cord, making it unrelated to the leather bundle and burial. Or maybe the leather sample Yoder dated was not the one he thought it was.

Whatever the explanation, the child burial, which Yoder dated to the Basketmaker II era, and the rawhide strap represent the two oldest dates (AD 124 and AD 460, respectively) yet reported from Nine Mile Canyon. And both dates suggest that people lived here at a time when foragers throughout the region began to add maize farming to their subsistence. Almost nine decades after "Basketmaker" was disinterred and carted away to the Peabody Museum, he continues to generate more questions than answers.

While all of this was going on in Nine Mile Canyon, Bowers, Dennison, and Forbes embarked on the most strenuous, dangerous, and remarkable part of the expedition. They were covering over one hundred miles of plateaus, canyons, and river bottoms in the West Tavaputs Plateau. It was a place so inaccessible that government surveyors had scarcely mapped it, and the maps the Harvard boys carried with them were generally useless. Streams and canyons appeared in the wrong places. The few cow trails, as they would soon discover, did not always lead to their desired destination, and their guide, Oliver Rasmussen, would prove underqualified for the task ahead.

Once these young men rode out of the Pace Ranch in lower Nine Mile Canyon, they would be on their own for the next two weeks, far from resupply and even farther from help. The first priority was Range Creek, a place with no roads and only two lonely cabins inhabited by cowboys.

The expedition members knew next to nothing about the land deep in the heart of the West Tavaputs. They had certainly talked to cowboys, and they had Oliver Rasmussen, a veteran of the country for at least the past decade or so. They knew of the ruins of Range Creek and also of a distant drainage called Flat Canyon, filled with rock art and granaries. They had heard enough that Scott wanted to investigate the reports.

Yet Scott must not have been impressed upon their return. The two-week adventure— where his students saw things no archaeologist had seen before—received two short sentences in the expedition summary: "This reconnaissance revealed a continuation of the same types of pictographs as found in the main canyon of Nine Mile. Very few of the open sites were encountered but a large number of stone and adobe granaries with pole roofs are to be found there."[47]

William Bowers, *left*, and Waldo Forbes, *right*, celebrate their arrival in Range Creek. (©President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.26, File 99380245.)

Not only does that summary fail to adequately represent what the students observed in Range Creek, but it was flat-out wrong in many ways. Scores of open residential sites, even small villages, spread out on virtually every bench level and ridgeline in the canyon and in some instances on the canyon floodplain itself. The ancients here built elaborate, cantilevered granaries on the sheer cliff faces, with wooden platforms wedged into niches and cracks as a base. Scott wrote scarcely a word indicating that these sites contained far more artifacts than any site the expedition had encountered in Nine Mile Canyon or that many of these artifacts clearly had their origins in northern Arizona among Ancestral Puebloan peoples.

It can be surmised that Scott—who was not along for the adventure—did not appreciate what the observers noted in their journals. Perhaps Bowers, Dennison, and Forbes themselves did not fully comprehend the importance of the sites in Range Creek. What we have gleaned from the journals is that they discovered and described twenty-nine sites in just four days, took a wealth of photographs, and even conducted some excavations. Unfortunately, the observations of these first archaeologists to visit Range Creek would remain largely forgotten and unappreciated for decades to come.

The area was rumored to be rich in archaeological treasures, and in 2002, the rancher Waldo Wilcox sold his ranch to the Trust for Public Land. Archaeologists from Uinta Research, the Utah Rock Art Research Association, and the University of Utah knew of the lore surrounding Range Creek, so they jumped at the chance to visit the area. They were left speechless by what they actually saw. In a matter of four days in 2002 they discovered and documented nearly fifty sites, ranging from elaborate rock art panels to ancient farming villages to granaries large and small on nearly every cliff face. Everywhere they looked they found something new. And they had only examined a tiny portion—less than 1 percent—of the canyon.[48]

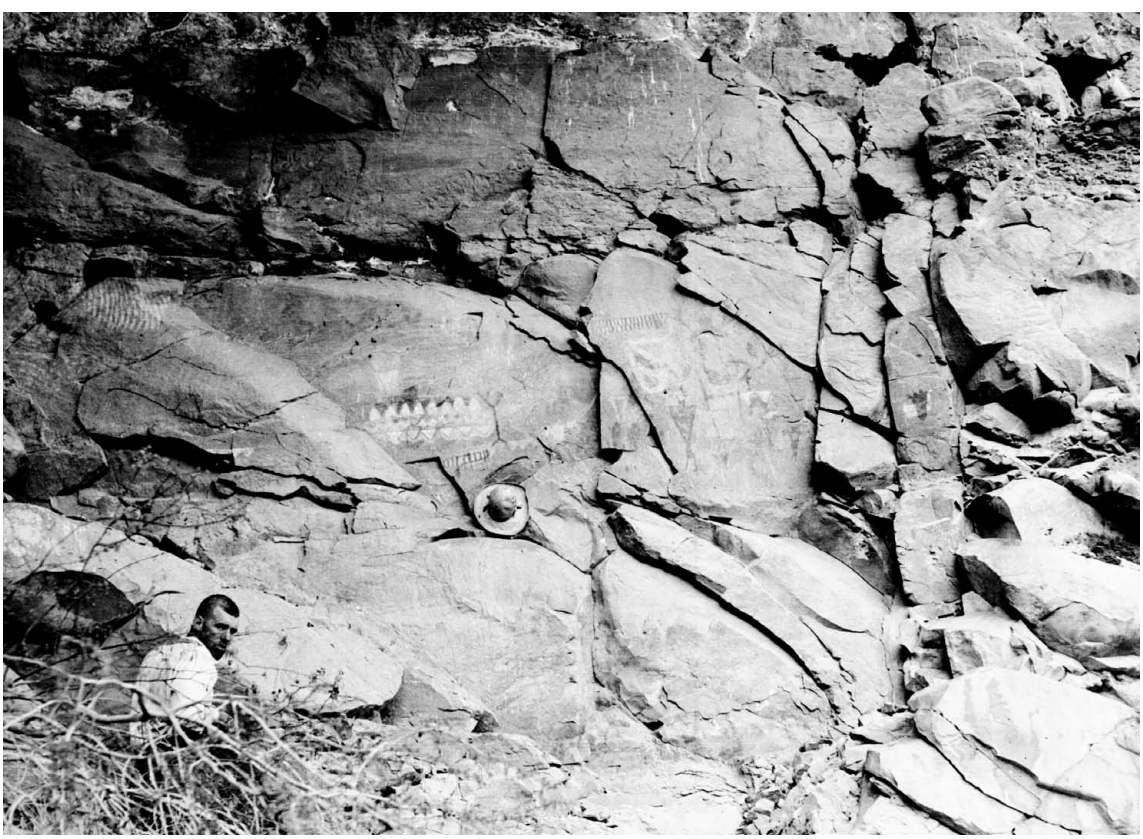
Even more unbelievable was that, with a few exceptions, the sites were in pristine condition—no looters' holes, no graffiti, no vandalism. To archaeologists accustomed to the widespread pillaging of ancient sites, an entire undisturbed human ecosystem where the past could be carefully studied, layer upon layer, was nothing short of a holy grail. Understandably, this scientific treasure trove eventually garnered international headlines. Hundreds of articles were written, many focusing on Wilcox's life-long efforts to save the canyon from looters.[49] When William Bowers, James Dennison, and Waldo Forbes rode into the canyon in the summer of 1931, however, they had no inkling of how important this place would become to science.

Today, the University of Utah Range Creek Field Station has documented more than five

hundred sites, representing a nearly 2,000-year span of human history. A total of ninety-three open residential sites have been recorded as of this writing, and another sixteen sites contain residential structures in sheltered settings. Quite simply, in prehistoric times, Range Creek teemed with farmers, with population densities that might have been greater than any other area of the Tavaputs Plateau. Based on a suite of radiocarbon dates, the first farmers probably arrived at Range Creek in about AD 400, but they were few in number. The populations seem to have exploded between AD 850 and 1200. Of the thirty-three radiocarbon dates, twenty-nine are attributed to this narrow window of human history.[50]

When the crew—Bill Bowers, Waldo Forbes, Jim Dennison, and their cowboy guide, Oliver Rasmussen—finally left Range Creek and turned their horses toward the unknown canyons along the west bank of the Green River, they were venturing into a place where no archaeologists had gone before, a natural fortress of sheer cliffs, box canyons, and intense heat. For forty-six of their 104-mile route, they traveled along the western bank of the Green River, a fine source of water for the horses but laden with so much sand as to make it highly unpleasant for humans. The most important person on this leg of the expedition was undoubtedly Rasmussen, who probably knew the locations of the few scattered fresh-water springs tucked in the side canyons. Finding fresh water would dictate the course of their foray along the Green River.

Again, it is unclear from the field notes or correspondence why the expedition members wanted to explore this formidable country or what they expected to find here. It is possible that local cowboys had regaled Scott with stories of unspoiled cliff ruins that teased him with the prospect of a grand discovery. Or maybe it was simply because the land was still unexplored: a last frontier of sorts for archae-



William Bowers documents a rock art site inside an alcove above the team's first camp in Range Creek. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 2004.24.10537, File 120770002.)

ological discovery. Dave Rust was enthusiastic about the region's potential, selling Scott on the idea that "such a region is a like place of habitation for our prehistoric brethren."[51]

Most likely, Scott did not appreciate what he was asking of his crew or just how remarkable it was that they accomplished this feat safely. Even weathered cowboys today would pause at such a journey. It required the most sure-footed horses, accustomed to narrow trails on canyon ledges, where one slip could mean death to horse and rider. The rocky, unstable trails were, in many places, cut into steep slopes of sixty to eighty degrees, where rock slides had removed all traces of the trail itself, requiring riders to dismount their horses and lead them through the boulder fields. Cowboys who use the trails to this day say it can take hours to travel a mile or two, picking one's way around the rock slides.

The West Tavaputs Plateau is one of the last great wilderness areas in the lower forty-eight states, composed of hundreds of square miles of untamed canyon country. More than a dozen major canyon tributaries flow from west to east from the high plateau to the Green River, and dozens of minor, unnamed canyons drain to the river as well. The highest spot on the plateau is Bruin Point, a boney outcrop at 10,131 feet above sea level; the lowest point the expedition would encounter was 4,200 feet at the mouth of Three Fords Canyon, along the Green River. In other words, they experienced an elevation change of nearly 6,000 feet.

Desolation Canyon's escarpments are often sheer, rising in ascending levels to hundreds of feet above the narrow floodplains. Almost all are devoid of permanent, clear water. Today, despite natural gas development on the high plateau, these narrow canyons have stymied the attempts of humans to build roads or otherwise develop the land. Only one permanent ranch was ever established here, at Rock Creek. This land remains as untamed today as it was in 1869, when John Wesley Powell and his band of explorers first floated the Green River.[52] The Peabody Museum horseback odyssey has, to our knowledge, never been duplicated by archaeologists. Seventy-five years would pass before archaeologists returned to Desolation Canyon to study the ancients, not on horseback but rather floating on rubber rafts laden with modern amenities. In terms of difficulty, modern research projects share little in common with the 1931 expedition.

When the Harvard group left Range Creek, they followed an old cowboy trail east onto Last Chance Bench. At Trail Canyon they found a two-chambered granary and six groups of red-and-yellow pictographs at Lion Hollow.[53] The following day, Bowers led the crew north toward the remote ranch at the mouth of Rock Creek, following the trail as it hugged the edge of the river.

The Rock Creek area of the Green River is an oasis of sorts, with its broad floodplains and clear water. Fremont farmers settled there at least a thousand years ago, and Anglo ranchers found it no less enticing. After camping at the mouth, the crew then began moving west up the creek. They followed a well-worn trail, first pioneered by the Seamount brothers and now called the Van Dusen Trail, up the bottom of Rock Creek Canyon. Cattlemen used it to move livestock back and forth from the ranch at Rock Creek to their summer range on the high plateau. They photographed numerous granaries and rock art panels, and they passed other sites without mention, which suggests they were moving fast with a specific destination in mind.[54] That destination might well have been a famous petroglyph site that lures hundreds of river runners today and was probably known to Rasmussen. At about two miles from the river sits an impressive rock art panel with more than a hundred images of bizarre human shapes, bighorn sheep, and abstract compositions. Bowers offered a brief description of the site, which they photographed in panoramic fashion to capture its size and complexity.[55]

The goal for the next day, August 10, was to "ride to Flat Canyon to investigate three structures and one group of petroglyphs reported there."[56] But they had to take a route that is today called the Son-of-a-Bitch Trail—an aptly named labyrinth of ups and downs and rock slides that still evokes curses. The group spent an entire day traveling those five miles to the mouth of Steer Ridge Canyon. From there they could not find a trail to Flat Canyon because none exists. Their guide, Rasmussen, should have known this.

If the expedition had made it to Flat, they might have been awestruck at the sheer density of prehistoric sites there: dozens and dozens of masonry granaries, the largest petroglyph panel anywhere in Desolation Canyon, and a complex of prehistoric residences perched on an outcrop overlooking the broad Flat Canyon floodplain. It has the highest concentration of prehistoric sites on the West Tavaputs Plateau outside of Range Creek and Nine Mile Canyon. Archaeologists are still grappling with why this is the case. One reason is that the climate may have been wetter and, hence, allowed more farming.

On August 12, the crew finally decided to leave the Green River behind and ride to the high plateau to a reliable water source, Johnson Spring. Local legends say early cattleman Shadrach "Shed" Lunt blasted this horse path in the late 1870s or early 1880s using dynamite.[57] They camped at the cabin of Cecil Rouse, a small-time cattle operator.[58]

At this point, uncertainty seems to have permeated the expedition. Rasmussen apparently did not know this country all that well. They eventually gave up going into Flat and descended Jack Canyon toward the canyon mouth, another ten miles distant. They found some rock art sites but nothing to suggest that ancient farmers had worked those floodplains. [59]

On the morning of August 14, the crew headed north, hugging the river's edge. No formal pack trails exist in this area, so they bushwhacked along the edge of the river, choked in places with thorny greasewood. Opposite Peter's Point they found granaries and a house foundation, and at the mouth of Rock House Canyon they described and photographed a petroglyph panel.[60] All of the journals abruptly go silent at this time.

It is unclear how far the expedition traveled that day, but their return to Nine Mile Canyon did not even warrant a mention in any of the

The expedition visited this small tower site (ET5-1) on August 14, 1931. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM No. 971-21-10/100162.1.385, File 99380317.)

journals. In fact, the entire Range Creek–Desolation Canyon foray seems to have been casually dismissed. As noted above, the editor of the journals, Scott, devoted only a single paragraph to the remarkable odyssey, lumping the Range Creek and Desolation Canyon observations into a mere two sentences.[61]

Perhaps the later chronicles would have been more effusive had Bowers, Dennison, and Forbes spent more time exploring the rich archaeology of Rock Creek or if they had actually made it to Flat Canyon, where they would have found spectacular granaries and rock art panels. Archaeologists from CPAA have now documented more than 275 archaeological sites in Desolation Canyon and its tributaries, including all but one of the sixteen sites mentioned in the 1931 field journals.

While the Harvard boys got it monumentally wrong when they concluded that Range Creek had plenty of granaries but not much in the way of residential sites, that assessment appears to hold true for Desolation Canyon. At least forty-three sites with granaries are tucked along the Green River and in the side canyons, but the canyon has only seventeen sites with open residential structures. Almost all of these sit in side canyons instead of along the river corridor, and there appears to be a higher use of rock shelters as temporary residences.

In other words, ongoing research in Desolation Canyon paints a picture of prehistoric farmers working the river floodplains during the spring, summer, and fall, using rock shelters as temporary homes. They built multiple granaries near their fields to store their harvest. Once cold weather arrived, they retreated to more permanent residences two or three miles up side canyons where fresh water and firewood were plentiful. Forays to recover their stored maize probably occurred throughout the winter. By early May, they would have again scattered to the distant fields to begin the planting and tending of fields, some along the river corridor and others along the side canyons with suitable floodplains.

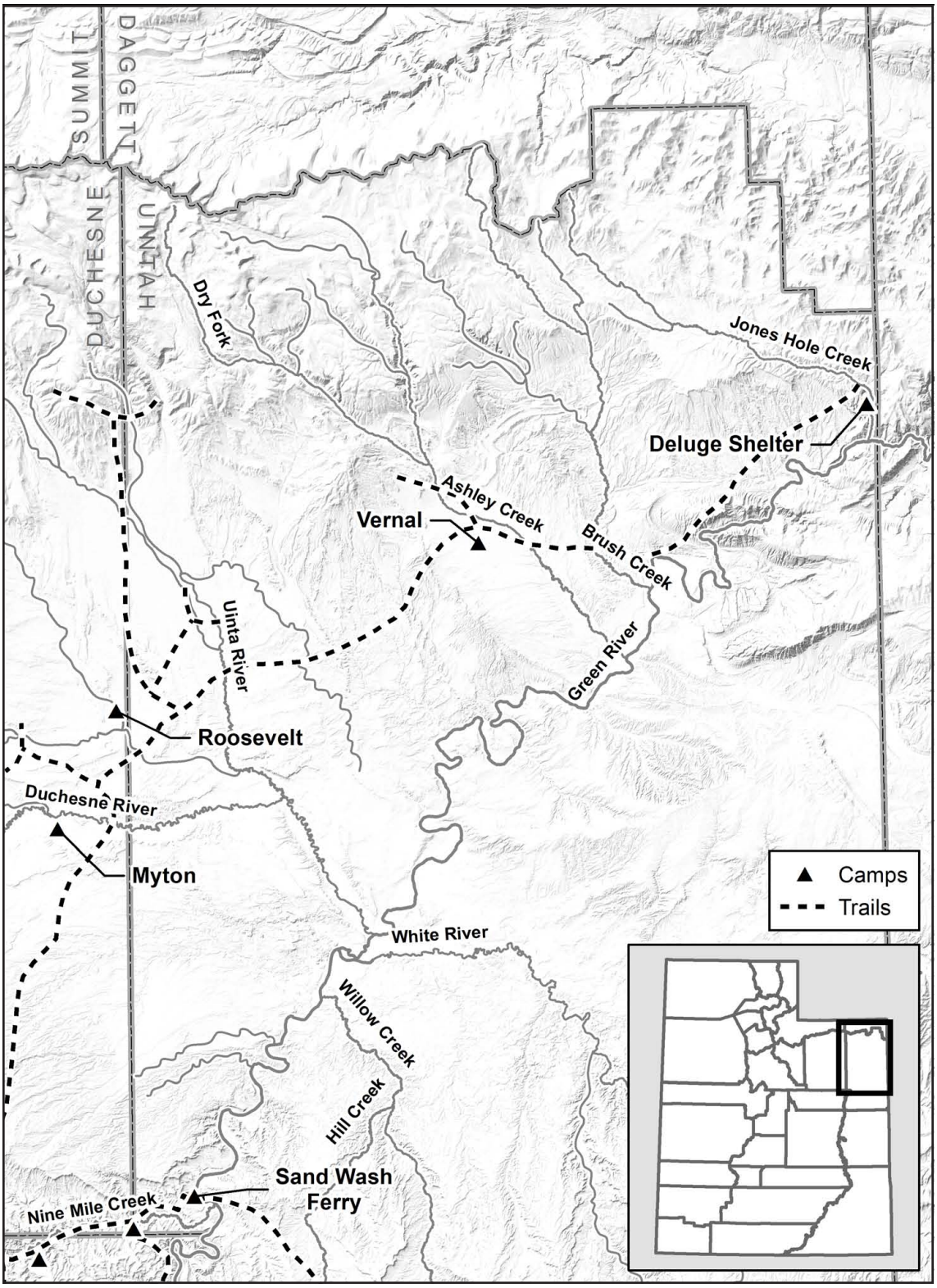
These ancients were probably country cousins to the families living in Nine Mile Canyon and Range Creek and unusually adapted to the isolated environments of Desolation Canyon. The first archaeologists here—Bowers, Dennison, and Forbes—had no way of knowing this during their 104-mile trek, but they did have the distinction of being the first to explore the scientific potential of this remarkable landscape. And they did it on horseback, a feat likely never to be duplicated.

The saddle-weary Crimson Cowboys had just completed the unthinkable: a roughly four-hundred-mile horseback odyssey through the wildest canyon country imaginable. The adventure, conducted on a scale never before attempted by archaeologists, might be over, but there was work still to be done and seventeen days left to do it. The expedition was nonetheless lean on exhibit-quality artifacts, and we assume that Scott, the group's leader, was determined to bring to the Peabody something worthy of their benefactors' investment. They turned their attention to the Uinta Basin.

But more people lived in the twentieth-century Uinta Basin and many of the high-potential sites there had already been ravaged by gophers in search of pots, baskets, and burial sites. Undeterred, Scott hoped that careful excavation might reveal evidence—and artifacts—the untrained looters had missed.

They first excavated on the South Myton bench and then at the famous Elizabeth Cave in Ashley Creek near Vernal. The looters had beaten them to the good stuff. Scott even sent Rust and Dennison north to Jones Hole to excavate and photograph. They dug for two hours in what later became known as Deluge Shelter, but they did not have enough time for a proper excavation. In the late 1960s, Deluge Shelter became one of the most important sites in the West when University of Colorado archaeologist Larry Leach uncovered twelve millennia of human history there.[62] If Dennison and Rust had had the time to dig deep enough, they might have gone racing back to retrieve Scott and the others: here was the unspoiled rock shelter they had sought to no avail for the past six weeks.[63]

In terms of artifacts, the entire expedition might be considered a bust. The Uinta Basin investigations, which held so much promise seventeen days before, were over and with little to show for it. The Harvard boys were simply too



A map detailing some of the areas visiting by the Peabody researchers in the Uinta Basin. (Map created by Deb Miller, Utah Division of State History.)

late to the party, and the spectacular artifacts the region once concealed were already on display in homes and shops throughout the area. The Claflin-Emerson excavations here would be forgotten or relegated to footnotes in the archaeological history of the region. All told, it had been a remarkable seven weeks in the Utah backcountry, and the Crimson Cowboys had acquitted themselves well in cowboy country. The crew boarded the Union Pacific train in Green River, Wyoming, on September 4, bound for Boston.

Four of the five students would return to school at Harvard and Donald Scott to the Peabody. Besides Scott, three of the crew went on to work part or all their lives in archaeology or anthropology: J. O. Brew, Alfie Kidder, and Bill Bowers. Jim Dennison and Waldo Forbes, who remained close friends, followed very different career paths into family businesses. All would be later honored for their scholarly contributions to Harvard's anthropology department.[64] Dave Rust continued to guide until the spring of 1941 but was mostly forgotten until 2007, when Frederick H. Swanson published his award-winning biography, *Dave Rust: A Life in the Canyons*. William Claflin and Raymond Emerson remained on the Peabody board and stayed interested in archaeology and the West until the end of their lives.

It might seem presumptuous to refer to the legacy of the Claflin-Emerson Expedition of 1928–1931: the expedition's findings remained overlooked until decades later. Yet the project stands as a hallmark of archaeological inquiry. It was the first major exploration of the most remote regions of Utah north of the Colorado River. It resulted in a definition of the Fremont Complex that remains largely intact. It established the archaeological importance of the northern Colorado Plateau, an accomplishment that successive generations of researchers—Julian Steward, John Gillin, Jesse Jennings, and others—would build upon in the years to come. But it was, and still is to some extent, a neglected legacy.

The expedition field notes were never published, gathering dust in the Peabody Museum archives. James Gunnerson, who examined the notes in the 1960s as part of his doctoral dissertation, summarized only a portion of them, passing over dozens of sites described in the field journals.[65] Until recently, the location of most 1931 sites remained unknown.

In 2003, the Colorado Plateau Archaeological Alliance (CPAA) embarked upon a multi-year project to re-identify and thoroughly document the expedition's 1931 sites. Working closely with the Peabody Museum, CPAA has now identified more than a hundred Claflin-Emerson Expedition sites in the region, including almost all of the sites they visited in Range Creek,[66] Desolation Canyon,[67] and Nine Mile Canyon.[68]

Through comparison of historic photographs taken in 1931 (there are hundreds of them in the Peabody's archives) to a site's current condition, we can evaluate the rate of site degradation over time. We can begin to understand which sites are at risk to vandals and looters, and we can even estimate when past looting might have occurred. These efforts will assist land managers and private property owners to better protect the region's rich archaeological legacy for future generations.

But in 1932 Donald Scott's decision not to return to the northern Colorado Plateau punctuated the end of the Peabody's grand expeditions into the American West. They returned periodically in the years to come but always on a much smaller scale and never with such a grand geographic vision. Gone were the days of horseback archaeology—crews dispatched for weeks on end into the wilderness in search of the unknown and undiscovered. In a very real sense, the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition closed one era and started another. It was the last of what we call "adventure archaeology," or exploration for the sake of discovery.

The real value of the expedition to archaeology today lies not so much in the artifacts themselves but in the detailed journals of the young scholars and in the hundreds of photographs now curated at the Peabody Museum. Many of the sites they visited in 1931 no longer exist or have been damaged beyond recognition, sometimes through natural erosion but more often by the thoughtless acts of individuals.

The 1931 expedition was essentially the last when archaeologists endured these kind of

privations and hardship in the spirit of new discoveries. Within a few years, the entire discipline underwent another theoretical shift. Archaeologists are now preoccupied with understanding the context of artifacts and the human behavior behind them, the interrelation of features within sites and of different sites to one another, and the natural environment that influenced, as Gordon R. Willey described it, "the way in which man disposed himself over the landscape."[69]

Instead of describing archaeological remains—and the Crimson Cowboys were certainly good at that—the next generation of archaeologists focused their scholarly efforts on explaining how and why prehistoric humans behaved the way they did. In a way, as archaeology became more and more of a science in the years after 1931, it also became more and more clinical, perhaps even boring to most. At least it would have been by the standards of the Crimson Cowboys, who thought nothing of a four-hundred-mile horseback trip into the Utah wilderness armed only with note pads, trowels, and a camera.

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Web Extra

Modern archaeologists have retraced the steps of the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition. Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras to see photographs of sites visited by both groups and to learn about the origins of this project.

Notes

1 This article is based on a portion of *The Crimson Cowboys: The Remarkable Odyssey of the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition* by Jerry D. Spangler and James M. Aton, which the University of Utah Press will publish in fall 2018. James H. Gunnerson, *The Fremont Culture: A Study in Culture Dynamics on the Northern Anasazi Frontier, Including the Report of the Claflin-Emerson Expedition of the Peabody Museum,* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 59, no. 2 (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1969): 23.

2 See Noel Morss, *The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah*, Peabody Museum of American Anthropology and Ethnology 12, no. 3 (1931). This was the now-classic report that established the name and the outlines of what is now known as the Fremont Complex, named after the river near Torrey, Utah.

3 "Fremont Complex" is used by Utah archaeologists as an umbrella term to describe farmers and foragers north of the Colorado River, although there are distinct differences in adaptations from region to region. In some areas, the Fremont peoples were highly dependent on cultivated maize, and in other areas they depended more on wild plants, especially marsh resources. A hallmark of the Fremont was their ability to shift adaptive strategies between farming and foraging as conditions warranted.

4 Don D. Fowler, the foremost expert on the history of western archaeology, correctly observes that the Glen Canyon Project—the archaeological investigations done in advance of the Glen Canyon Dam construction in southern Utah and northern Arizona in the late 1950s and early 1960s—probably surpassed the geographic scope of the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition, but it did not begin to approach it in terms of logistical difficulty. The Glen Canyon crews primarily used trucks and rubber rafts to complete their surveys, occasionally resorting to horses and backpacks to access certain roadless areas like the Kaiparowits Plateau. The 1931 expedition, conducted almost exclusively with horses and mules, benefited only rarely from any motorized vehicle support.

5 Donald Scott, "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance in North Eastern Utah Conducted by The Peabody Museum of Harvard University, July, August and September, 1931," Claflin-Emerson Expedition Field Records, 31-16-10/100240.1.7 (hereafter Claflin-Emerson Records), Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter Peabody Museum).

6 Gunnerson, *The Fremont Culture*.

7 See Amelia Emerson Forbes, *Recollections and Ramblings of Amelia Forbes Emerson* (Boston: Thomas Dodd, 1968), 119–26.

8 "Donald Scott," *Harvard University Gazette* (November 4, 1967): 62; "Donald Scott," *Harvard College Class of 1900: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Report* (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1925), 605; David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard: A Biographical History, 1790–1940* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, Harvard University, 2013), 340.

9 Browman and Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard*, 370–71.

10 Ibid, 371.
11 Ibid, 370–71; Jerry D. Spangler, *Nine Mile Canyon: The Archaeological History of an American Treasure* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 51.
12 Donald Scott to Rust, April 9, 1931, Claflin-Emerson Records. Biographical information obtained from 1910 U.S. Census, Malden Ward 5, Middlesex, Massachusetts, roll T624_601, page 15A, enumeration district 0900; *Massachusetts, Marriage Records, 1840–1915*; *United States, Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861–1865*; 1920 U.S. Census, Malden Ward 5, Middlesex, Massachusetts, roll T625_713, page 2B, enumeration district 278, image 523, all accessed December 19, 2017, ancestry.com.
13 Richard B. Woodbury, "John Otis Brew, 1906–1988," *American Antiquity* 55, no. 3 (July 1990): 452; Browman and Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard*, 372–73.
14 Browman and Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard*, 413, 426; "William Benton Bowers, II," box 7, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Student Folders, 1890–1999, UAV 161.201.11, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Scott to Rust, April 9, 1931, Scott to Julian Steward, May 5, 1931, and Scott to Henry S. Bowers, June 18, 1931, box 31-16,fd. 4, Claflin-Emerson Records; Frederick H. Swanson, *Dave Rust: A Life in the Canyons* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2007), xv, 231–33; Karen L. Mohr Chavez, "Alfred V. Kidder II, 1911–1989," *Expedition* 30, no. 3 (1988): 4; J. O. Brew to John Walcott, June 25, 1931, box 31-16, fd. 4, Claflin-Emerson Records.
15 Swanson, *Dave Rust*, xv.
16 "Journal of Expenses, Utah 1931," 31-16-10/100240.1.7, box 31-16, fd. 3, page 3, Claflin-Emerson Records.
17 For a more extensive discussion of the Cradle M Ranch's history, see James M. Aton, *The River Knows Everything: Desolation Canyon and the Green* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009), 103–112.
18 This would be the only occasion on the entire expedition where Donald Scott, the senior archaeologist, split off to investigate something. In all subsequent instances (Range Creek, Desolation, Argyle, and Willow Creek), he sent the young men to do the exploring.
19 Waldo Forbes, "Field Journal of the 1931 Claflin Emerson Expedition," 2, PM no. 971-21-10/100162.3.8.6, Donald C. Scott Collection, 971-21-10/100162, Peabody Museum.
20 Ibid., 9–11; James Dennison, "Field Journal of the 1931 Claflin Emerson Expedition," 4–6, PM no. 971-21-10/100162.3.8.5, Donald C. Scott Collection.
21 David Rust, "Journal 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition," reel 1, David Dexter Rust Papers, 1870–1963, MS 1143, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
22 Topographic maps today refer to this feature as Big Doggie Canyon, but the journals actually called it Little Doggie Canyon.
23 Donald Scott, "The Claflin Emerson Expedition Field Notes," 5–6, Claflin-Emerson Records.
24 Alfred V. Kidder II, "Journal of the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition," 14, Donald C. Scott Collection.
25 Scott's site numbering system was based on United States Geological Survey topographical maps. "The number is composed of three elements: the letter or letters indicating the name of the topographical sheet; a number indicating in which of the sixteen divisions of the map the site lies, counting from the top left-hand corner; and a third number which is the actual numerical indicator of the site. Thus ET 6-6 signifies a site on the East Tavaputs sheet; second section from the left in the second row from the top (there being four rows of four sections each): and the sixth site encountered in that section. The exploration covered parts of four sheets: East Tavaputs, Price River, Uinta, and Ashley." Scott, "Claflin Emerson," 2, Claflin-Emerson Records.
26 Kidder, "Field Journal," 14–15, Donald C. Scott Collection.
27 J. Walter Fewkes, "Archaeological Investigations in New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 68, no. 1 (1917): 1. See also J. Walter Fewkes, "Prehistoric Remains in New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 66, no. 17 (1917): 76–92.
28 Fewkes, "Archaeological Investigations," 33–34.
29 From the 1880s through the 1920s, the most prestigious museums in the world dispatched crews to the Southwest to harvest rich collections of artifacts with little or no thought to understanding the people behind the artifacts. In some instances, the museums even paid locals to hunt their collections for them, which led to the rural tradition of pot hunting. The preoccupation with artifacts gave way to the emergence in the 1910s of archaeology as a scientific discipline oriented towards careful attention to detail, record keeping and reporting, and attempts to place archaeological resources in spatial and temporal context. Alfred Kidder's father was at the forefront of paradigm shift, and the Claflin-Emerson Expedition of 1928–1931 represented one of the earliest attempts to implement these new practices on a grand scale.
30 John Otis Brew, "Field Journal of the 1931 Claflin Emerson Expedition," 5, 6–7, PM no. 971-21-10/100162.3.8.4, Donald C. Scott Collection. Gunnerson's synthesis indicates the site is two miles above Horsecorn Canyon. Donald Scott, "The 1931 Claflin Emerson Expedition," 29, Claflin-Emerson Records.
31 Brew, "Field Journal," 18, Donald C. Scott Collection.
32 Bowers's journal indicates they began excavations here on July 21, but this is probably in error and it is not consistent with Brew's journal. The only way this date would be accurate is if Bowers began working here by himself while all the others were at Pedestal Rock and the other sites in the same area.
33 James Gunnerson revisited this site in 1954 and assigned it the site number 42Un120.
34 Brew, "Field Journal," 16, Donald C. Scott Collection.
35 Albert Reagan, "Some Archaeological Notes on Hill Canyon in Northeastern Utah," *El Palacio* 31, no. 4 (1931): 235.
36 Scott, "Claflin Emerson," 24, Claflin-Emerson Records.
37 Edmund Schulman, "Dendrochronology in Northeastern Utah," *Tree-Ring Bulletin* 15 (1948): 2–14.
38 Kidder, "Field Journal," 23–25, Donald C. Scott Collection.
39 Fewkes, "Archaeological Investigations," 32–33; Reagan, "Notes on Hill Canyon," 230.
40 This site was redocumented in 2004 by Montgomery Archaeological Consultants. It had earlier been assigned the number 42Un105.
41 Noel Morss, *The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah*, 28. Clarence Mumford's name was etched into a cliff face just outside of Rasmussen Cave where it is still visible today.
42 "Journal of Expenses, Utah 1931," box 31-16, fd. 3, Claflin-Emerson Records.

43 Jerry D. Spangler, "Site Distribution and Settlement Patterns in Lower Nine Mile Canyon: The Brigham Young University Surveys of 1989–91" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1993), 261–63.
44 Scott, "Claflin Emerson," 82, Claflin-Emerson Records.
45 Alfred E. Gaumer, "Basketmaker Caves in Desolation Canyon, Green River, Utah," *Masterkey* 11, no. 5 (1937):160–65.
46 David Yoder, email communication with Jerry D. Spangler, December 7, 2016. The child burial dated to AD 108 ±21 years BP, with a 2 Sigma range of AD 124 to 237 (D-AMS 011271). The maize from the west side of the cave returned a date of AD 867 ±24 with a 2 Sigma range of AD 895 to 1016 (D-AMS 010871).
47 Scott, "Claflin Emerson," 10, Claflin-Emerson Records.
48 Co-author Jerry D. Spangler was the lead archaeologist on the 2002 expedition, the first archaeological exploration of the canyon in forty-seven years.
49 One of the more colorful, if embellished accounts, is David Roberts's *The Lost World of the Old Ones: Discoveries in the Ancient Southwest* (New York City: W. W. Norton, 2016).
50 Shannon Arnold-Boomgarden, Duncan Metcalfe, and Corinne Springer, "Prehistoric Archaeology in Range Creek Canyon, Utah: A Summary of the Activities of the Range Creek Field Station, *Utah Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2014): 9–32.
51 Ibid.
52 John Wesley Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River and its Tributaries* (New York: Dover Press, 1961); Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage: The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition Down the Green-Colorado River from Wyoming, and the Explorations on Land, in the Years 1871–1872* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1908).
53 Dennison, "Field Journal," 36–38, Donald C. Scott Collection; William Bowers, "Field Journal of the 1931 Claflin-Emerson Expedition," 41–42, Donald C. Scott Collection.
54 Dennison, "Field Journal," 39–40, Donald C. Scott Collection.
55 Bowers, "Field Journal," 48, Donald C. Scott Collection.
56 Ibid, 50.
57 Jerry D. Spangler and Donna Kemp Spangler, *Last Chance Byway: The History of Nine Mile Canyon* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016), 96.
58 Lloyd M. Gerber, *Heroes Are Made, Not Born: Stories of the Life of Lloyd M. Gerber* (Eagle, ID: Red Canyon Corporation, 1998), ch. 36.
59 Bowers, "Field Journal," 54, and Dennison, "Field Journal," 40, Donald C. Scott Collection.
60 Dennison, "Field Journal," 42, Donald C. Scott Collection.
61 Scott, "Claflin Emerson," 10, Donald C. Scott Collection.
62 Larry L. Leach, "Archaeological Investigations at Deluge Shelter (42Un1)" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1970).
63 Dennison, "Field Journal," 48–50, Donald C. Scott Collection.
64 See Browman and Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard*.
65 Gunnerson, *The Fremont Culture*, 80–130.
66 Jerry D. Spangler, K. Renee Barlow, and Duncan Metcalfe, *A Summary of the 2002–2003 Intuitive Surveys of the Wilcox Acquisition and Surrounding Lands, Range Creek Canyon, Utah*, Utah Museum of Natural History Occasional Papers 2004-1 (Salt Lake City; University of Utah, 2004); Jerry D. Spangler, Shannon Arnold, and Joel Boomgarden, *Chasing Ghosts: A GIS Analysis and Photographic Comparison of Vandalism and Site Degradation in Range Creek Canyon, Utah*, Utah Museum of Natural History Occasional Papers 2006-1 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2006).
67 Jerry D. Spangler and Kevin T. Jones, *Land of Wildest Desolation: Final Report of the Desolation Canyon Intuitive Surveys and Baseline Site Condition Assessments of 2006 to 2008* (Ogden, UT: Colorado Plateau Archaeological Alliance, 2009).
68 The Nine Mile Canyon sites were documented over the course of many years and are reported in more than fifteen different technical reports by the Colorado Plateau Archaeological Alliance.
69 Gordon R. Willey, *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 155 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1953), 1.

Provo General Hospital, circa October 1905. Porch (*l–r*): Fern Foote, Frederick Taylor, Alice Sumner, Virginia Bean (*far right*). On steps: George Robison, Lillian Johnson (*lower step*), Zina Johnson. On the ground: John Aird, Amy Burles. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Sheree Thomas Wilkinson.)

SMALL BUT SIGNIFICANT:
THE SCHOOL OF NURSING AT PROVO GENERAL HOSPITAL, 1904—1924

BY POLLY AIRD

Zina Malinda Johnson came into the world in 1881, the eleventh of twelve children born to Carl and Hansine Johnson, Danish immigrants in Elsinore, Utah.[1] By 1900, Johnson had moved to Salt Lake City, where she worked as a servant in the home of a merchant. Then in 1903, at age twenty-two, she began training as a nurse at the Keogh-Wright Private Hospital, which had a handful of nurses and contracts with several mining companies. Johnson's efforts paid off: in October 1905, soon after her graduation, she moved to Provo to become the matron of a new general hospital there.[2] Here was a story of increasing independence: through training, the daughter of immigrants moved from working as a domestic to becoming a supervisor and educator of other striving young women.

Johnson's career began at a time when American women were creating a greater place for themselves in the public square and when nursing itself was becoming professionalized. In Provo, Utah, at this point, only 148 women in a total population of 7,500 worked outside the home. Most of these women worked as teachers or at the Provo Woolen Mills. Other women were music teachers, seamstresses, clerks, candy makers, grocers, housekeepers, or attendants at the State Mental Hospital.[3] But a new career was about to open to local women. Soon after the 1903 establishment of Provo General Hospital came the opening of a nurse training program within the hospital. Through this program, which operated until 1924, some forty-four women received a nursing education. No longer limited in their choices, most of them used their education to find mean-

ingful work in hospitals, maternity homes, doctor's offices, on the boards of state and local nursing associations, or in public health.

As Provo entered the twentieth century, it began to acquire the technological innovations and outside connections that made life more comfortable. The city had enjoyed rail service since the early 1880s, and by the early 1900s, Provo had postal delivery service, telephones, paved sidewalks, and reliable electricity.[4] By 1903 scientifically based medicine in Utah was also coming into its own, though sometimes slowly. Professional medical organizations had existed in the state for only a few years, the use of X-ray technology was still in its infancy, and insulin and penicillin had not yet been discovered. The University of Utah created a Department of Medicine with a two-year course in 1905, but students had to go elsewhere to complete their medical degree.

In 1903, Provo had seven doctors with offices in their homes where they could treat patients and even perform surgery, but the city had no general hospital. Patients who required hospital care had to travel to Salt Lake City. The need for a hospital with aseptic surgery, X-ray technology, a laboratory, and twenty-four-hour care became increasingly apparent. For many surgeons, a hospital seemed "the only ethical place to practice an increasingly demanding art."[5] Three Provo physicians—John W. Aird, Frederick W. Taylor, and George E. Robison—recognized that the Salt Lake City hospitals run by the Episcopalian, Catholic, and LDS churches were too far away for such services, especially for emergency cases. They applied to those religious institutions for help in building a hospital in Provo, with no success. The doctors then turned to wealthy Provo businessmen, who saw little profit in such an enterprise. Out of options, Aird, Taylor, and Robison decided to start a hospital themselves. They founded a corporation as a private business with no financial assistance from government, community, or religious organizations.[6]

The three men all had Utah roots and medical credentials obtained outside the state. Aird, who had grown up in Heber City as the son of an apostate Mormon who had joined the Reorganized Latter Day Saints, borrowed money to attend the University of California Medical School in San Francisco. There he received his degree in 1893.[7] Taylor, a son of LDS church president John Taylor, had been sent east by the church to attend New York University Medical College in New York City, where he received his degree in 1892.[8] Aird and Taylor had diametrically opposed backgrounds—the son of an apostate and the son of a prophet—but they became friends and respected each other. Robison, who was raised in Fillmore, received his medical degree in 1898 from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Baltimore, Maryland. He had studied chemistry with a friend of Wilhelm Roentgen, the discoverer of X-rays, and thus developed a keen interest in X-ray technology.[9]

For a hospital building, the doctors bought the former home of Abraham O. Smoot, an early mayor of Provo, a polygamist, and the father of Utah's first U.S. senator, Reed Smoot. Abraham Smoot's first and fourth wives had lived in the house at 192 South 100 East. Smoot and his first wife had died by 1895 and his fourth wife, Diana Tanner Eldredge Smoot, stayed in the house for a few years, but it was too large once the children were gone. In September 1903, she sold the old family home to Provo General Hospital.[10] Robison's wife, Ella Deseret Smoot, was a daughter of Diana and had grown up in the house that now became her husband's hospital.

The doctors remodeled the Smoot residence and opened it as a hospital in October 1903. This first general hospital in Utah County had twenty beds, a waiting room, an office, an X-ray facility, a surgery, and residence rooms for the nurses. Annie Hunter was hired as the matron or supervisor of nurses; she had formerly been the matron at the Utah County Infirmary, which cared for the poor, chronically ill, and aged. The doctors also hired three other nurses.[11]

Provo General Hospital started a school of nursing in 1904, making it one of the oldest nurse training programs in Utah. St. Mark's Hospital in Salt Lake City opened its school in 1894, followed by Holy Cross Hospital in 1901.[12] Nursing schools were the most practical way for hospitals to obtain the skilled help they needed. Hospitals are expensive to run: patient care goes on day and night, the equipment is costly and must be functioning, the food must be nutritious, and

drugs, disinfectants, and dressings are used in abundance. Graduate nurses cost more, were harder to discipline, and provided a less stable workforce than student nurses with a supervisor. The cost of running a nursing school was room and board, uniforms, laundry, and a small monthly stipend for textbooks and extras. In exchange for working a grueling sixty or more hours a week—an aspect that raised the question of exploitation in some instances—the student received room and board and training for no tuition in a profession that would enable her to support herself after graduation.[13]

A year after the school opened, the hospital hired Zina Johnson as its matron. The Keogh-Wright Private Hospital at 166 West 200 North in Salt Lake City, where Johnson trained, had thirty-five beds and seven to eight nurses. Its nursing program involved two years of practical patient care, lectures, room and board, eight dollars a month, three uniforms, and a diploma at graduation.[14] When Johnson began at Keogh-Wright, the matron was Dr. Mabel deLucy Hughes, who had graduated from the Cooper Medical School in San Francisco. A two-hundred-bed hospital built in association with the California school had these goals: "good heads, good hearts, and willing hands; and a determination . . . to do superior work, and a fixed resolve to live and labor in harmony with his fellow workmen." Hughes appears to have imbued these ideals and passed them on to her students, including Johnson.[15]

Although most training at Provo General occurred at the bedside as a type of apprenticeship, on weekday evenings the students received two hours of instruction from Johnson and the doctors. Courses at the time included the basic principles and procedures of nursing, as well as the fundamentals of anatomy and physiology, bacteriology and chemistry, medications, diet and nutrition, hygiene, sterilization and disinfection, and sanitation. Venice Foote, a student, described the cleaning duty: "When a patient left, we had to scrub the room down, walls and floors. Also the furniture had

Provo General Hospital, on the corner of 200 South and 100 East in Provo, Utah, when it first opened in the winter of 1903. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Mark T. Marshall.)

to be washed. They did have a woman who took care of the halls and [did] everyday cleaning, but they taught us to be meticulously clean."[16]

In contrast to the Salt Lake City hospitals founded by religious organizations, Provo General did not require its students to participate in devotional or religious study or to honor the Sabbath. Students had either mornings or afternoons off on Sundays, depending on the schedule. The hospital did, however, have a rule about male visitors, as described by one of the students: "Boys were not allowed in the nursing home. If we had any boy visitors we had to . . . entertain them in the 'waiting room.' This seldom happened as we usually went someplace when we had a date, either a . . . dance, horseback riding or down to the lake." This would be on their half day on a Sunday, though perhaps Provo General, like some schools, had an afternoon off during the week as well.[17]

The nursing school started small, with two students accepted into the program in 1904 and three more the next year. The first graduation in June 1906 was cause for an evening celebration at the Aird home. Aird's brother gave a speech and the doctors presented the diplomas

Nurses at Provo General, ca. October 1905. Back row (*l–r*): Lillian Johnson, Amy Burles, Matron Zina Johnson, and Virginia Bean. Front row: Alice Sumner and Fern Foote. Burles and Bean were second-year students, as shown by the black ribbon on their caps. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Sheree Thomas Wilkinson.)

The newly remodeled Provo General Hospital in the spring of 1906, before Virginia Bean and Amy Burles graduated in June. The fence, some shrubbery, and some of the house trim were removed; porch posts and railings were replaced, a skylight was added to the roof, a porch was added to the north side, and the brick exterior was painted white.

Fred Taylor noted on the photo that the nurses were Zina Johnson, Virginia Bean, Amy Burles, Alice Sumner, Lillian Johnson, and Fern Foote; however, the poor resolution of the photo makes it impossible to identify individuals. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Mark T. Marshall.)

to Virginia Bean and Amy Burles, followed by a program of music, song, and readings.[18] Change and growth continued apace in the following years. The hospital building was remodeled in the spring of 1906, which created a brighter, cleaner, and more welcoming appearance. During 1908, three more students arrived, joined by two more in fall of 1909. Without exception, the nursing students were young women, mostly from Utah but some from other parts of the West and even Great Britain.[19]

Provo General made it a founding principle that, every year, at least one staff member would visit renowned medical centers, do post-graduate work, or attend clinics and conferences. In May and June 1909, Zina Johnson traveled to the Midwest and East for seven weeks with Taylor and his wife. They visited hospitals in Chicago, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York, and other cities. Johnson wanted to see other nursing schools and bring back ideas to Provo General. It was progressive for the hospital to include the superintendent of nurses, in addition to the doctors, among those who enjoyed continued professional opportunities.[20]

In this early period, no national or state standards or an accepted curriculum existed for nursing schools.[21] Still, a 1910 report from the U.S. Bureau of Education that compared 692 schools throughout the nation provides context for understanding Provo General (see table one). In Utah, the Provo school was the smallest by far, with an average of eight patients in twenty beds. The next largest school was at the W. H. Groves' L.D.S. Hospital, which had an average of eighty patients in 103 beds. Provo General's educational requirements for admission fell in the middle of the field nationally. According to the report, schools varied in when they admitted students: twice a year in the spring and fall, every three or four months, or when a vacancy or a special need arose.[22] Graduations from Provo General occurred during at least eight different months, suggesting that the school could accept students at any time.

Table 1. 1910 Utah Nurse Training Schools

Place	Hospital	No. of pupils	Admission requirements	Hours of duty	Years in course	No. of beds	Average daily patients
Provo	Provo General	4	1 yr. high school; 18–30 yrs. old	9	2	20	8
Salt Lake City	Holy Cross	24	8th grade; 18–35 yrs. old	12	3	150	85
Salt Lake City	W. H. Groves' L.D.S.	50	8th grade; 19 yrs. old	8	3	103	80
Salt Lake City	St. Mark's	40	High school; 18–35 yrs. old	8.5	3	150	100

Source: Nutting, *Educational Status of Nursing*, 88.

Graduation, September 1910. Back row (*l–r*): Fred Taylor, Carol Bayles, George Robison, Fredonia Holdaway, and John Aird; front row (*l–r*): Irene Whitney, Zina Johnson, and Eliza Bean. Whitney and Bean both wear black ribbons on their caps, signifying second-year students, and the pins received at graduation. One can distinguish the supervisor, in her white dress, from the students, with their striped dresses.

When compared with a photograph from 1905, this image shows that the nurses' uniforms were beginning to evolve in style and practicality. The puffy caps persisted, but the sleeves were not quite so full. Long cuffs, which could be easily changed and laundered, protected the lower half of the arm. In addition the Edwardian-style pouched bodice was less pronounced. The most noticeable change came with the collar, which was no longer a stiff turtleneck but a slightly more relaxed, pointed collar that closed with a button. (Courtesy Provo City Library.)

With its requirement of nine daily hours of work—which only included work on the ward floors, not hours of instruction or study in the evening—Provo General again fell in the middle nationally.[23]

After a probationary period of usually three months, nursing programs varied in length. The 1910 study shows that 501 schools required three years and 103 schools had a two-year program. Three years soon became the norm with somewhat reduced hours of duty and more time spent in courses.[24] Within a few years, Provo General's program also became a three-year course, although its hours of ward work remained the same. In the early years, the number of students ranged from two to five, which suggests that those students had more one-on-one training with Johnson and the doctors than would be possible in a large program. The drawback of only twenty beds was a smaller variety of medical cases.

The decade starting in 1910 saw significant growth in Provo, the hospital, the nursing school, and the nursing profession statewide. The hospital had grown so much that "more room and better facilities [were] an absolute necessity." The original plan was to erect a new building north of the hospital, but eventually the doctors decided to acquire the adjacent house on 200 South instead. This had been the home of Anne Kirstine Mauritzen Smoot, another of Abraham Smoot's wives and the mother of Reed Smoot. It became the "Center Building" and, after remodeling, it housed doctors' offices on the ground floor and a residence for nurses above. With nurses no longer living in the hospital, more rooms were available for patients. Venice Foote later recalled living in the Center Building: "We lived in a nursing home, and we would get our meals in the hospital dining room. We did not have very much supervision at the nursing home. . . . Miss Johnson had her room in the hospital. Once in a while we would get quite rowdy and noisy. When this happened she would call over and tell us to quiet down."[25]

A photograph taken at the time shows that in spite of the long hours and hard work, there were light moments among the nurses and with Johnson. In July 1910, Johnson drove the nurses to Geneva, a summer resort on the shores of Utah Lake. It was Fraternal Day, a holiday celebrating fraternal orders, and some 1,200 members of lodges with their families and friends spent the day boating, playing ball games, and picnicking. Johnson likely borrowed one of the doctors' cars, as few other people in Provo had cars. Robison had owned a car since 1903 and, by 1911, Taylor had a Cadillac large enough to carry his wife and eight children. Venice Foote told of another occasion about five years later when Aird took some of the nurses for a ride: "Cars were just coming to Provo and then it was just the elite that had them. Dr. Aird had one, and I remember him taking us for a ride over to Springville. What a thrill to ride in one. On the way back, there was a train going to Provo. Dr. Aird told us he bet he could get to Provo first, and he did!"[26]

A lighter moment at Provo General Hospital, fall 1912. *L–r*: Carol Bayles (with the nurse's pin that shows she had graduated), Annie Dean, Zina Johnson, and Dora Sumsion. This photograph also shows that, off duty, the nurses did not wear collars or cuffs. Sleeves were shorter, and puffy caps had been replaced by more business-like, starched ones. Although Annie Dean's collar looks like the earlier turtleneck, it is her position that makes it appear so. (Polly Aird Collection, Utah State Historical Society.)

Graduation, March 1914. Back row, *l–r*: Ethel Sumner, George Robison, Horace Merrill, Fred Taylor, David Westwood, John Aird, and Catherine Brown. Center row: Dora Sumsion (a graduate nurse), Zina Johnson, and Annie Dean with her pin and diploma. Front row: Maude Anderson and Sarah Anderson. Note the nurses' more relaxed collars and slightly shorter dress lengths. This photograph was taken in front of the Center Building at Provo General Hospital. The building with columns in the background is the Holbrook residence. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Mark T. Marshall.)

In December 1913 the partnership of the hospital expanded to include two more doctors, Horace G. Merrill and David Westwood. Merrill was born in Piute County and went east to medical school, graduating in 1908 from the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. Westwood, born in West Virginia, moved to Provo in 1889. He too received his training in the East, graduating in 1902 from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Baltimore, Maryland. This brought the partnership in the hospital to five.[27]

In 1914, several other students entered the training program, and in March of that year, Annie Dean, an immigrant from England, graduated. To celebrate, Alette Halvorsen, a nurse and physiotherapist from Norway who had come to Utah in 1898 and to Provo in about 1905, threw a party for Dean at the prestigious Hotel Roberts.[28] Dean's graduation marked a period of great change in the world and in the hospital. That July, war broke out in Europe. The conflict was far from Utah, yet even there people were affected. Dean's brother Reuben, an Englishman, was killed in Festubert, France, in November 1914.[29] As the war and its consequences progressed, it increasingly became part of the life of the hospital.

Provo General's nursing school and facilities continued to grow throughout the 1910s: in 1912, there were four students; in 1913, eight; and in 1914, ten. The number continued to rise, ranging from eleven to fifteen students over the next seven years (see appendix). In May 1914,

the hospital installed the latest X-ray machine, and in June 1915, the hospital partners bought still another building. West of the Center Building, this was the former home of Lafayette Holbrook, an early Provo mayor. As Holbrook had been a polygamist, the building was actually two houses under one roof at 33 and 35 East 200 South. The western half became a women's hospital and maternity ward as the doctors wished to separate surgical and medical cases from maternity cases. The eastern half was used for doctors' offices on the main floor and more rooms for nurses on the second floor. With the house came a beautiful Romanesque Revival carriage house. A lawn stretched west of both buildings to Academy Avenue (later University Avenue). Thus by 1915, Provo General Hospital buildings occupied the entire southern half of the block between Academy Avenue and 100 East.[30]

Venice Foote came to Provo General in 1914 or 1915 with her friend Annie Bartholomew. Because of her sister Fern, Venice thought nursing was a "wonderful profession." Venice left stories of her experiences, including one about discovering a mystery baby in the nursery: "We found out later, to our amazement, Dr. Taylor's daughter had come and put it in the nursery, knowing it would get excellent care, and she did not intend to be gone very long." The baby was probably Vida Finlayson, born in 1916 to Aimie Taylor Finlayson, Taylor's daughter.[31] Another occasion during night duty left Venice upset. The doorbell rang after midnight. Downstairs, Venice opened the door and found a large man in a bathrobe. He was in pain and wanted morphine. Venice called Taylor, who lived close by, but he said to send the man away. Venice, frightened, told him to leave. He started toward her with fists clenched but then turned and left. "The next day when my father was going to work, he saw the poor guy walking on the railroad tracks."[32] Venice's recollections provide an everyday perspective of what it meant to be

Provo General Hospital purchased the Lafayette Holbrook residence and its carriage house in June 1915. In this view, a child stands across the street from the Holbrook residence. (L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU, MSSP613.)

Venice Foote pictured in November 1917, at the time of her graduation. (Courtesy of Dawn Anderson Orrock.)

a young woman and nursing student at Provo General during the 1910s. Concurrent with the increasing number of students at Provo General, professionalization of nursing was reaching Utah.

Utah was one of the last states to enact nurse registration laws, the first such laws having been enacted in 1903 in North Carolina. Without

Concurrent with the increasing number of students at Provo General, professionalization of nursing was reaching Utah.

Venice Foote's registered nurse pin. Utah registration for nurses came into effect in March 1917. (Courtesy Justin Shepherd.)

regulation, problems such as graduation from home-study courses without ever having clinical experience arose throughout the nation.[33] Finally in March 1917, Governor Simon Bamberger signed a bill establishing a state board to examine and register nurses. He named five members to the board, one from each hospital with a nursing school except for the Salt Lake County Hospital and the Utah-Idaho Hospital in Logan. In May, Zina Johnson was elected the first president of the board.[34] This new responsibility meant that she attended meetings several times a year in Salt Lake City. To fill in for Johnson—especially since the number of students had grown—the doctors hired Carol Bayles, a 1912 graduate, as assistant superintendent of nurses.[35]

By 1917 Provo General Hospital had expanded to fifty patient beds and the training program to three years, the same as all the nursing schools in Utah. That November, four nurses graduated from the hospital's program.[36] A new U.S. Bureau of Education report compared the now seven schools in the state. Except for the number of students and patient beds, the training programs were similar.[37] Since the 1890s, American nurses and their allies had worked to put their occupation on a more professional footing. As noted above, they fought to institute registration laws, a standard curriculum, educational prerequisites, three-year training programs, and eight-hour work days for nursing students.[38] The 1917 report showed the status

Summer 1917. Student nurses in front of Center Building. From top left, Alice Craig, Hilda Boyer, Edith Wilmott, Theta Whitney, Alta Miner, _____. Front row: Annie Privett, Venice Foote, Luella Kindred, Annie Bartholomew. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Mark T. Marshall.)

of these reform efforts and how Utah schools compared to programs in other states.

Of the 1,680 American nursing schools reporting, 43 percent required one year of high school for admission and 16.5 percent two years. The report, however, pointed out that in spite of the minimum educational requirement, many applicants had attained more, "perhaps most of them the equivalent of a full high-school education." The report showed that 76 percent of the schools enrolled forty or fewer students. Utah schools were different, with only three of the seven schools having fewer than forty students.[39]

In terms of hours on duty, 43 percent of U.S. schools required ten hours, 27 percent nine hours, and 14 percent eight hours. The report viewed long hours "with apprehension, since . . . . to require long hours of duty for a period of three years must necessarily work a hardship, if not a positive harm, on the nurse pupils in training." In Utah, Groves' L.D.S. Hospital and Dee Memorial Hospital required only eight hours, which was held by the report as a positive factor in a good program.[40] The report considered hospital size in terms of beds and the average number of patients each student nurse was responsible for. To be "thoroughly efficient," a school "should have, at least, a capacity of 50 beds with a daily average of 25 patients." All the Utah schools were thus thoroughly efficient, whereas 29 percent nationally had fewer than fifty beds.[41]

For the first time, the Bureau of Education reported on how much the students were paid annually for textbooks and personal needs. The amount typically increased each year as the services of the nurses became more valuable. The largest schools paid the least because they had less difficulty in getting students, "presumably, because the variety of training . . . is correspondingly attractive." Conversely, smaller schools paid more to attract students. Table two shows that Provo General and Holy Cross increased the amount each year. The Dee Memorial, Groves' L.D.S., and Salt Lake County programs, however, paid the same each year.

Table 2. Annual Pupil Remuneration

Hospital	1st Year ($)	2nd Year ($)	3rd Year ($)
Utah-Idaho	...	...	...
Dee Memorial	96	96	96
Provo General	96	120	144
Holy Cross	60	72	120
Groves' L.D.S.	90	90	90
St. Mark's	67.50	90	90
Salt Lake County	150	150	150

Source: Bonner, *Nurse Training Schools 1917–1918*, 92.

Salt Lake County Hospital paid the most, probably because it was harder to obtain applicants. St. Mark's and Holy Cross, the oldest and best-known schools in Utah, paid the least for the first year or two.[42]

The study showed that all the Utah training schools fell well within the national averages. Although Utah was one of the last states to adopt regulations, state examinations, and registration for nurses, Johnson was well aware of

Table 3. 1917 Utah Nurse Training Schools

Place	Hospital	No. of pupils	Admission age	Admission education in high school	Hours of duty	Years in course	Beds	Average no. patients
Logan	Utah-Idaho*	9	20	2 yrs.	10	3	50	30
Ogden	Dee Memorial	45	19	1 yr.	8	3	75	50
Provo	Provo General	10	19	1 yr.	9	3	50	30
Salt Lake City	Holy Cross	60	18	1 yr.	9	3	180	85
Salt Lake City	W. H. Groves' L.D.S.	96	19	1 yr.	8	3	216	177
Salt Lake City	St. Mark's	53	18	1 yr.	9	3	165	120
Salt Lake City	Salt Lake County	24	19	1 yr.	9	3	125	70

Source: Bonner, *Nurse Training Schools 1917–1918*, 92.
*The Utah-Idaho Hospital (1914–1925) became the William Budge Memorial Hospital in 1926.

Summer 1917. Student nurses in front of the Center Building with Dr. Merrill. *L–r,* Alice Craig, Alta Miner, Annie Privett (*top*), ____, and Hilda Boyer (*right front*). By this period, the uniforms look much more practical. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Mark T. Marshall.)

national standards through her visits to schools in the East and Midwest and then more recently through her role as president of the state board for registering nurses. It is not surprising that Provo General, although small, measured well compared to other schools.

As state board president, Zina called several meetings each year. Among the board's early duties was to issue certificates of registration to nurses who had completed their training prior to the law. In 1917, 325 nurses received certificates. The next January the state board met to accredit the seven training schools, discuss reciprocity with other states, adopt the curriculum of the American Nurses Association until they could tailor it to Utah needs, and decide on rules and regulations for conducting examinations, preparing questions, and marking papers.[43]

At this point, WWI and its effects began to seriously affect the Provo hospital. In April 1917, the United States declared war on Germany after the Germans resolved to sink ships from any country that might be carrying war materials to England and France. In November Dr. Taylor enlisted in the medical corps of the U.S. Army. The next January, he received a commission of captain in the officers' medical reserve corps. In June 1918 Taylor was assigned to Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City, but in October he was transferred to Fort Stevens on the Oregon coast where he received the rank of major. That December, he was decommissioned and returned to Provo.[44]

In addition to Taylor's commission, Virginia Bean, a 1906 graduate who had taken postgraduate training in physical therapy, then called massage therapy, also responded to the war effort. She received an appointment from the National Red Cross to take charge of a corps of physical therapists in the "reconstruction" (rehabilitation) hospitals in France. She was sent to Army Base Hospital Number 14 in Mars-sur-Allier, about 190 miles south of Paris. When the Germans were approaching Paris, Bean was transferred to a field hospital about three miles behind the front lines. There she nursed the wounded from the Battle of Chateau Thierry (July 18, 1918), part of the Second Battle of the Marne.[45]

May 1918, in front of Holbrook Building with the carriage house behind. Back row standing: superintendent Zina Johnson, Amy Martain, and Dr. Taylor about to report for duty to the army medical corps. Middle, on knees: Alta Miner. Front row: Edith Wilmott, ____, ____, Bertha Whiting, ____, ____. (Photograph by Frederick W. Taylor. Courtesy of Mark T. Marshall.)

Nurses at the U.S. Army Base Hospital No.14, Mars-sur-Allier, Nievre, France, where Provo General graduate Virginia Bean served in World War I. (National Library of Medicine.)

In the winter of 1917–1918, two members of Johnson's registration board left to support the Allies in France. Some of the students at Provo General also wanted to join but were stymied: "We nurses had tried to enlist but they would not let us, as they had to be over thirty-four and we were only twenty-one years old."[46]

Toward the end of World War I, when the soldiers were exhausted, an influenza pandemic—the Spanish flu—developed around the globe. Rather than striking young children and the elderly, this strain of the flu primarily afflicted those between twenty and forty years of age. More than half of the soldiers who died in World War I died from influenza and its associated pneumonia. When American soldiers began to come home, they brought it with them. In October 1918, the Spanish flu arrived in Utah, first in Fort Douglas and in Ogden, a hub for transporting soldiers by train. The LDS church for the first time cancelled its semiannual conference.

Provo first saw the Spanish flu on October 4; by October 11, schools had closed. In late October, the *Provo Post* reported thirty-nine new cases in the city and, three days later, another forty. But when the end of the war was declared on November 11, no ban on public gatherings could keep people from celebrating in the streets. Armistice Day resulted in a predictable spike in cases. In mid-November 1918, health officials urged strict compliance to the regulations already announced: masks in public, no public gatherings such as church services or theater performances, and schools closed. They added that streetcars must limit the number of passengers, business hours would be shortened and there could be no special sales, funerals services were limited to thirty minutes, and victims of the flu had to remain at home for ten days after recovery. People coming from outside the city were restricted and gatherings for Thanksgiving had to be limited in size.[47]

With no effective vaccines or antivirals, treatment for patients consisted of bed rest, blankets and quilts, flannel pneumonia jackets to keep the patient's chest warm, clean linens, sponge baths, Vick's VapoRub, hot soup, aspirin, cough medicine, mustard plasters, whiskey, and open windows for fresh air. Hospital wards overflowed with patients, who had to be put in the halls. The Red Cross mandated gauze masks for the nurses, which caused them extra work by having to boil the masks and dry them each night. Eventually the nurses changed to gauze squares folded over and pinned to their hair. When leaving a sick room, the gauze was put in a paper towel and burned.[48]

By late December, the disease had abated to the point where the Utah County commissioners rescinded some of the regulations. Masks were no longer required on the streets except by those recovering from the flu. Provo schools reopened and by June 1919, the disease appeared to be over, although the fall brought several new cases.[49]

The health of nurses suffered with overcrowded hospitals and long hours, even if they did not get the flu. One of Provo General's students, Clara Sumsion, told how she wanted to be a nurse like her older sisters:

> When I was 18 years old, I went to Provo General Hospital to take nurses training. I had decided I wanted to be a nurse after Dora went to take the course and Susan was in training there. . . . I stayed at the hospital for the 3 months' probation but just couldn't take it any longer. It was 1918, the first year of the bad flu and we couldn't leave the hospital or nurses home. Susan got the flu and nearly died. I got so homesick I wished I could die, so I gave it up and went back home to milk cows and plow.[50]

Venice Foote had her story too of exhaustion:

> During the flu epidemic in 1918 and 1919, I nursed in hospitals and homes. . . . At that time, I felt if this flu epidemic . . . would stop I would never complain again. So many people died with the flu. We were working night and day. They would call me on a case. I would go and find whole families down in bed. Sometimes there might be one child that could help. They would have to have food cooked, fires kept going, treatments, children fed, some poor little things crying and with high fevers. . . . If it had not been for the help of the Lord I could not have done it. When my whole being was crying for a little rest I would ask Him to give me strength, and I could always go just a little longer.[51]

The Spanish flu came close to Zina Johnson as well. Johnson's twenty-two-year-old niece was stricken in October in Richfield, about 125 miles south of Provo. Johnson arrived to nurse the girl, along with the local doctor. But her niece developed a bacterial pneumonia, a common complication of this flu. Penicillin had not yet been discovered, so Johnson could do little except try to alleviate her lung congestion. After five days of suffering, her niece died. The girl's parents wanted to hold the funeral on the lawn of their family home, but the regulations specified that services could be held only at the cemetery and could be no longer than thirty minutes.[52]

Between September 1918 and June 1919, the Utah Department of Health reported 72,625 cases of influenza and 2,343 deaths from it and associated pneumonia. Using cemetery records, it is estimated that Utah County had more than 200 deaths in this period.[53] After World War I and the influenza pandemic, a reaction set in. Applications to nursing schools around the country dropped. This did not seem true at Provo General at first. I estimate the school had fifteen students in 1919 and again in 1920, but then enrollment dropped to eleven in 1921 and eight in 1922. A nursing magazine said this change "might be attributed to the general feeling of unrest which pervades all walks of life" after the war.[54]

Provo General continued to evolve during the upheaval of WWI and the Spanish flu. The *Salt Lake Tribune* wrote that the hospital was now "well equipped with the latest modern surgical instruments and appliances for caring for and healing the sick and disabled, and is gaining an enviable reputation throughout and beyond the borders of the state."[55] Zina Johnson's role on the state board of nurse examiners contributed to this reputation. In March 1919, Johnson was again appointed to the state board of nurse examiners, this time for a four-year term but not as president. In April 1920, she went east to attend the convention of the National League of Nursing Education in Atlanta, Georgia. During that period, the hospital hired a new head nurse, Ella C. Coffin from Minneapolis. Coffin received her training at Minnesota General Hospital and did post-graduate work in Boston.[56]

Zina's life took a major turn when on January 3, 1922, at age forty-one she married fifty-seven-

year-old William M. Roylance. He was a wholesale fruit shipper, a former state legislator and speaker of the house, and a former mayor of Provo. He had been widowed twice before. Zina left the hospital where she had lived for more than sixteen years to move into William's home.[57] Zina's marriage lasted only three years: William died in October 1925 at age sixty, after having suffered a stroke almost two years before that had left him paralyzed. Zina then took up nursing again but only for special cases. She too died in September 1930 of a brain hemorrhage, when she was not quite fifty years old. Provo's *Evening Herald* reported, "Mrs. Roylance was an excellent nurse and gained a host of friends during her many years of service at the Provo hospital."[58]

After Zina left in January 1922, Eliza Bean, a 1910 graduate, aided by Edith Wilmott, who graduated in 1920, took over supervision of the student nurses. In 1920 Provo General's roster of doctors had expanded again with four of the partners taking on an assistant: L. Weston Oaks to Merrill; Fred R. Taylor, the son of Fred W. Taylor, to his father; C. Hardy Carroll to Aird; and J. Karl Beck to Westwood. These young doctors were associates, not partners in the corporation.[59] These changes were followed by another in February 1922, when Robison announced he was leaving the partnership. He had purchased the X-ray laboratory of a retiring doctor in Salt Lake City. Robison's move forced the dissolution of the partnership, which was not final until January 1923.[60]

The end of the partnership brought a distribution of the assets. Aird, the chief surgeon, took over the hospital and renamed it the Aird Hospital. Carroll, a general practitioner, was his associate; they both had offices on the east side of the Holbrook Building. Westwood and Beck turned the Center Building into a maternity hospital, while Merrill and Oaks opened an eye, ear, nose, and throat practice in the Holbrook Building. Taylor and his son moved their offices to the Taylor residence on Academy Avenue, just north of the Holbrook Building. These changes indicate how doctors were beginning to specialize.[61]

With the demise of the partnership came the end of the nursing school. Although its formal program had ceased by January 1, 1923, several students remained in the program. Two of them continued in the Aird Hospital, as Foote explained:

> After I had worked in Salt Lake City about a year, Dr. Aird ... called me by telephone and asked me if I would come back to Provo and run the hospital for him. The doctors had dissolved the partnership, and he was going to take the hospital over. I thought a great deal of Dr. Aird. He was a wonderful man and nice to work with. I came back. There was one graduate and two undergraduates working with me.

Three other nurses worked with Foote, Wilmott, who had graduated, and Lacy Edwards and Bernice Vance, who each had one year left in their training. After 1924, the hospital no longer took on students, hiring trained nurses instead. The Aird Hospital continued until 1939 when the Utah Valley Hospital opened and doctors John W. Aird, Fred R. Taylor, L. Weston Oaks, and David Westwood joined the staff there.[62]

In November 1939, three months after the Aird Hospital had closed, the Airds held a reunion for the nurses who had graduated from Provo General or had worked at the Aird Hospital. Twenty-two nurses attended, a remarkable turnout. Besides those who lived nearby, some came from Payson, Heber, Lehi, Springville, and even Los Angeles.[63] Some years later, at age eighty-three, Aird paid tribute to the nurses who had worked with him: "The nurses I helped to train and those who so loyally and splendidly assisted me in operating and carrying on the Aird Hospital for many years, hold a special corner in my memory and affections. All have contributed to my wellbeing and happiness."[64]

Provo had undergone great changes since the nursing school opened twenty years earlier. The population had grown from 7,500 to 12,000 or 13,000 people, an approximately 80 percent increase. Most women still did not work outside the home, but attitudes were changing—especially because of World War I. Although few Provo women went to the front in France, many of them supported the war effort through work with the Red Cross and the Utah State

Several new students entered training during the war years, including Edith Wilmott, a talented young woman from Springville who was proud of being a nurse. Wilmott left photographs that give a feel for her time at Provo General Hospital. The time period of these images coincides with the popularity of the Brownie camera, which could explain their snapshot character. Frederick Taylor had taken most of the earlier photos of Provo General with glass-plate negatives.

This image shows the 1920s flapper-style uniform—straight and loose, with a dropped waistline. All uniforms were now much shorter, with short sleeves and relaxed collars.

Wilmott near the hospital, with a muddy 1919 Nash Six car.

In front of the Holbrook carriage house.

Wilmott, most likely on her graduation day in 1920. (Courtesy Lorraine Wadley Wells.)

Council of Defense. With registered nurses, female ambulance drivers, canteen workers, and secretaries serving on the front, even those who did not go recognized that women were capable of many kinds of work.[65] Provo Woolen Mills burned in 1918 and, although it was partially rebuilt, it never achieved the same success. The loss of jobs for women there was at least partially compensated by the growth of the city and Brigham Young University, which added jobs especially in teaching and in local businesses.

During its life, Provo General's nursing school enabled young women to obtain an education that certified them in a professional field. Some went on to take graduate courses. Those who continued to work found positions in hospitals and doctor's offices, state and local nursing boards and associations, and school districts. While many Provo General graduates worked only until marriage, those who were widowed or divorced depended on their nursing skills to support themselves (see the appendix for a list of all known graduates of the school).

A number of the graduates had careers in nursing: Edith Wilmott was appointed to the state board for registering nurses, and Carol Bayles, Alice Craig, and Amy Martain were elected to state and local nursing association boards. Venice Foote became head nurse at the Aird Hospital and later the head psychiatric nurse at the Utah State Hospital. Alice Craig became head nurse at the new Utah Valley Hospital. Annie Dean opened a maternity home. Those who made a career in public health, such as Carol Bayles, Susan Sumsion, and Bernice Vance, found opportunities outside the regimentation of hospitals and direct oversight of doctors to make policy decisions and take administrative responsibility.[66] Provo General nurses found satisfying careers and were prepared to work wherever they went, whether locally in Provo and Salt Lake City or farther afield in Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, California, or even France during WWI.

The hospital's professional standards produced nurses who competed well against those from the larger schools in Salt Lake City. As Venice Foote said, "I've never been sorry I trained there, as we received very good training. In fact, later I was called to work in all the Salt Lake hospitals and felt I had received as thorough a training as any of the nurses there."[67]

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Web Extra

At history.utah.gov/uhqextras, you'll find the research files Polly Aird used in tracing the lives of Provo General Hospital nurses.

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Notes

1 I would like to thank Sheree Thomas Wilkinson, granddaughter of student nurse Fern Foote; Mark T. Marshall, grandson of Dr. Fred W. Taylor; Linda Hutchings of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University; and Loretta Dixon, Smoot family historian, for their help and contributions to this article.

2 1900 U.S. Census, Salt Lake City Ward 1, Salt Lake, Utah, T623, roll 1684, page 9A, ED 06, listed as Jina Johnson; R. L. Polk, *Salt Lake City Directory, 1904–1905*, vol. 3 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1904), 469; Ralph T. Richards, *Of Medicine, Hospitals, and Doctors* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1953), 234–35; *Salt Lake Herald*, May 6, 1905; "Late Locals," *Deseret News*, October 18, 1905. To aid researchers, I have included the familysearch.org identification numbers of individuals discussed in this article. The numbers may be used at familysearch.org/tree/find/id. Zina Johnson's number is KWVL-ZMZ. The student nurses are identified in the appendix table.

3 *Official Directory of Provo City and Environs, 1903* (Provo, UT: Skelton, 1903). The Territorial Insane Asylum was established in 1885 and renamed the Utah State Mental Hospital in 1903 and the Utah State Hospital in 1927.

4 *Official Directory of Provo City and Environs, 1903*, 266, 268; *Daily Herald (Provo, UT)*, February 24, 1957. In the 1890s Provo Woolen Mills sold its surplus electricity to the city for eighteen street lights, but the Olmstead plant was the first to bring reliable alternating current electricity to Utah Valley. *Provo (UT) Daily Enquirer*, May 12, 1891, January 30, 1895; L. Jackson Newell, *The Electric Edge of Academe: The Saga of Lucien L. Nunn and Deep Springs College* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015), 31.

5 *Official Directory of Provo City and Environs, 1903*, 767; Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 149.

6 Provo General Hospital, articles of incorporation, August 31, 1903, case 300, Series 5026, Utah County, County Clerk Incorporation Case Files, Utah State Archives and Records Service, Salt Lake City, Utah; *Utah Valley News*, September 1939, clipping in the author's collection. Mark Marshall and Beth Marshall, "Reflections from the Lives of Amelia Richards and Frederick Whitaker Taylor," accessed February 7, 2018, familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWCG-QD2, Frederick Whitaker Taylor.

7 John W. Aird was my grandfather. Diploma in author's collection; 1900 U.S. Census, Heber City, Wasatch County, Utah, sheet 7A, family 112, W. John Aird, accessed February 7, 2018, familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., 27SQ-3SW, John William Aird.

8 Marshall and Marshall, "Reflections from the Lives of Amelia Richards and Frederick Whitaker Taylor"; 1920 U.S Census, Provo Ward 1, Utah County, Utah, sheet 2A, family 23.

9 *Denver Medical Times and Utah Medical Journal*, 28 (July 1908): 155; *Daily Herald (Provo, UT)*, February 24, 1957; familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWNG-H3V, George Edgar Robison.

10 Utah, Utah County Records, 1850–1962, Land and Property Records, deeds, vol. 67, 1903–1905, 413 (hereafter Utah County Records, deeds), Utah County Records Center, Spanish Fork, Utah; *Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847–1868*, s.v., Diana Tanner Eldredge, accessed February 12, 2018, history.lds.org/overlandtravel/pioneers; "An autobiography written by my great, great grandmother Diana Tanner Eldredge Smoot submitted to the DUP by her granddaughter, my great aunt, Fern Smoot Brimhall," accessed February 12, 2018, familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., L6MH-HW3, Diana Tanner Eldredge.

11 *Deseret Evening News*, October 13, 1903; R. L. Polk, *Provo City and Utah County Directory, 1904–1905*, vol. 3 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1904), 42, 50, 135.

12 The Deseret Hospital (1882–1890) had a one-year practical nurse training program. The Keogh Hospital (1899–1910; name changed with each associate doctor) had a well-regarded nurses' training program, but the years of its existence are not known. The W. H. Groves' L.D.S. Hospital's nursing school started in 1905; the nursing school at Dee Memorial Hospital in Ogden began in 1910.

13 M. Adelaide Nutting, *Educational Status of Nursing*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 14, 16, 22; Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers*, 220–23; Lavinia L. Dock, ed., *A History of Nursing: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day with Special Reference to the Work of the Past Thirty Years*, vol. 3 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 141.

14 R. L. Polk, *Salt Lake City Directory, 1904–1905*, 469; Richards, *Of Medicine, Hospitals, and Doctors*, 234–35; *Salt Lake Herald*, May 6, 1905.

15 *Intermountain Catholic (Salt Lake City)*, March 1, 1902, November 1903; *Pacific Medical Journal* (January 1897): 39; "Stanford University School of Medicine and the Predecessor Schools: An Historical Perspective. Part IV: Cooper Medical College 1883–1912, chapter 26. Lane Hospital 1895," *Stanford Medical History Center*, accessed March 21, 2018, lane.stanford.edu/med-history/wilson/chap26.html.

16 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote," accessed February 12, 2018, familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWZN-WCG, Martha Venice Foote; Nutting, *Educational Status of Nursing*, 35; Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers*, 226–33.

17 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote"; *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1906.

18 *Deseret Evening News*, June 5, 1906. Provo General's first two students were Virginia Bean from Provo and Amy Burles from England. The 1905 class consisted of Alice Sumner, Lillian Johnson, and Fern Foote, all from Provo.

19 The 1908 students were Etta Margaret Reed from Colorado; Eliza Bean, originally from England; and Irene Burton Whitney from Utah's Emery County. Eliza Bean is not known to be related to Virginia Bean. In the fall of 1909, these three students were joined by Carol Bayles from Bluff, San Juan County, and Fredonia Holdaway from Aurora, Sevier County.

20 *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 4, 1909, December 31, 1916; *Richfield Reaper*, May 13, 1909; *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 22, 1909.

21 See Dock, ed., *A History of Nursing*, 133–35, to understand the efforts to establish nursing curriculum.

22 Nutting, *Educational Status of Nursing*, 34. Throughout the nation, 35 percent of the schools required more education and 42 percent required less than Provo General.

23 Ibid., 29–31, 88. Nationally, 351 schools required nine hours or less of daily work and 312 more than nine.

24 Ibid., 32–33, 88; Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers*, 226–29.

25 *Salt Lake Herald*, June 11, 1909; the house at 65 East 200 South was acquired in March 1910. Utah County Records, deeds, vol. 115, 1909–1910, 39–40, 377–426; *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1910; "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote."

26 *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 31, 1910; *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), February 24, 1857; Frederick W. Taylor collection, in the possession of Mark T. Marshall; "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote."

27 Provo General Hospital, amendment to articles of incorporation, January 21, 1914, Series 5026; *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 23, 1913; *American College of Surgeons, Year Book 1923* (Chicago: American College of Surgeons, 1923), 254, 601; *Salt Lake Telegram*, March 9, 1942; familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWZL-CQX, Horace G. Merrill, and L4WX-HWM, David Westwood.

28 *Sunday Herald (Provo, UT)*, December 9, 1956; *Deseret Evening News*, November 19, 1910; "Time Travel Tuesdays," *Little House on the Corner*, accessed February 13, 2018, mariannesview.blogspot.com/2014/04/time-travel-tuesdaysin-their-own_8.html. Annie Dean entered the program in 1911; she was preceded by Dora Sumsion from Springville, Utah.

29 1891 England and Wales Census, Chesham, Buckinghamshire, England, Annie Dean, accessed February 13, 2018, familysearch.org; familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWC1-KFZ, Annie Dean, and Reuben Dean, LLQV-6TK.

30 Utah County Records, deeds, vol. 136, 1913–1915, 593; *Daily Herald (Provo, UT)*, May 22, 1939; September 30, 1969; *Utah Valley News*, September 1939; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 2, 1916.

31 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote"; familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWCC-31P, Aimie Richards Taylor; 1920 U.S. Census, Provo, Utah County, Utah, roll 1868, family 216, line 52, Aimie Finlayson.

32 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote."

33 Deborah Judd, Kathleen Sitzman, G. Megan Davis, *A History of American Nursing: Trends and Eras* (Burlington, MA: Jones and Bartlett Learning, 2010), 85–87; Dock, ed., *A History of Nursing*, 142–87.

34 Corinne F. Dorsey and Joyce M. Schowalter, *The First 25 Years: 1978–2003* (Chicago: National Council of State Boards of Nursing, 2008), 19–22; *Utah State Board of Examination and Registration of Hospital Trained and Graduate Nurses*, Biennial Report, 1917–1918 (Salt Lake: F. W. Gardiner, n.d.), 3; *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 24, May 16, 1917.

35 R. L. Polk, *Provo City and Utah County Directory, 1917–1918*, vol. 8 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1917), 24. Bayles's room was in the Holbrook building.

36 *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 18, 25, 1917. The November 1917 graduates were Luella Kindred (Springville), Theta Whitney (Logan), Venice Foote (Provo), and Annie Bartholomew (Provo).

37 H. R. Bonner, comp., *Nurse Training Schools 1917–1918*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 73 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 92.

38 Judd, Sitzman, and Davis, *A History of American Nursing*, 85–86; Dock, ed., *A History of Nursing*, 136.

39 Nationally, 12 percent of the schools required only the completion of eighth grade for admission while 28 percent required high school graduation. Bonner, *Nurse Training Schools 1917–1918*, 6–7, 19, 36, 92.

40 Ibid., 22, 25, 92. See Dock, ed., *A History of Nursing*, 141, for context.

41 Bonner, *Nurse Training Schools 1917–1918*, 11, 15, 92.

42 Ibid., 29–31, 92. When these amounts are divided by twelve, the number of months the students worked, the allotment at Provo General came to $8.00 a month the first year, $10.00 the second, and $12.00 the third.

43 *Utah State Board of Examination*, 4–7.

44 *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 19, 1917, January 5, May 28, December 21, 1918.

45 *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 6, 1917, March 21, 1919; *Salt Lake Herald*, March 3, 1918; "Harriet Virginia Bean," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 28 (1937), 58.

46 *Ogden (UT) Standard*, December 29, 1917, April 27, 1918; *Utah State Board of Examination*, 5; "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote."

47 Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *A History of Utah County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Utah County Commission, 1999), 177, 179.

48 Arlene W. Keeling, "'Alert to the Necessities of the Emergency': U.S. Nursing During the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," *Public Health Reports* 125, suppl. 3 (2010): 107–111.

49 *Ogden (UT) Standard*, December 18, 24, 28, 1918; Holzapfel, *A History of Utah County*, 180.

50 "Autobiography of Clara Sumsion Christensen," accessed March 6, 2018, familysearch.org/tree/find/id, s.v., KWCD-845, Clara Sumsion Christensen.

51 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote."
52 *Richfield (UT) Reaper*, October 19, 1918; *Utah Death Certificates, 1904–1964*, Maude Ileen Erickson, death certificate, October 18, 1918, accessed March 6, 2018, familysearch.org; Keeling, "'Alert to the Necessities of the Emergency,'" 109; Holzapfel, *A History of Utah County*, 179.
53 "Reportable Diseases: Utah, 1910–1919," *Utah Department of Health, Bureau of Epidemiology*, accessed March 6, 2018, health.utah.gov/epi/data/historical-summary/1910-1919.pdf; *Deseret News*, March 28, 1995; "Provo Cemeteries," *Provo City Library at Academy Square*, accessed March 6, 2018, provolibrary.com/historical-provo-cemeteries.
54 Isabel M. Stewart, *Developments in Nursing Education since 1918*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin no. 20 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 7; *The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review* 64 (January 1920): 60.
55 *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 31, 1916, 34.
56 *American Journal of Nursing* 19, no. 2 (April 1919): 733–34; *Salt Lake Telegram*, March 8, 1919; *Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the National League of Nursing Education Held at Atlanta, Georgia, April 12 to April 17, 1920* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1921), 36; 1920 U.S. Census, Provo Ward 1, Utah County, Utah, roll T625_1868, page 2A, ED 205, Ella C. Coffin, image 645; *Fitchburg (MA) Sentinel*, September 6, 1927.
57 *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 5, 1922; *Salt Lake Herald*, May 19, 1908.
58 "Long Illness Ends Useful Civic Career," *Springville (UT) Herald*, October 16, 1925; 1930 U.S. Census, Provo, Utah, T626, roll 2423, page 18, ED 0048, Zina Roylance, image 815.0; *Evening Herald (Provo, UT)*, September 8, 11, 1930; *Utah Death Certificates, 1904–1964*, Zina Johnson Roylance, September 7, 1930, accessed March 6, 2018, familysearch.org.
59 Two typewritten histories of Provo General Hospital, one by Heber R. Taylor, Frederick W. Taylor collection, in the possession of Mark T. Marshall; J. Marinus Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo: New Century Printing, 1924), 229; *Sunday Herald (Provo, UT)*, February 25, 1923; *Springville (UT) Herald*, October 9, 1925.
60 R. L. Polk, *1922 Provo City and Utah County Directory*, vol. 10 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1921), 26, 179; *American Fork (UT) Citizen*, February 4, 1922; Utah County Records, deeds, vol. 214, 562–65; Revocation of corporation charter, April 7, 1924, Series 5026.
61 *Sunday Herald (Provo, UT)*, February 25, 1923.
62 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote"; *Pleasant Grove (UT) Review*, April 8, 1932; R. L. Polk, *1924 Provo City and Utah County Directory*, vol. 11 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1924), 64, 73, 165, 190; *Daily Herald (Provo, UT)*, June 20, 1939.
63 *Daily Herald (Provo, UT)*, November 3, 1939; *Utah Valley News*, September 1939. More than forty nurses graduated from Provo General's school. The number of nurses who worked at the Aird Hospital but had been trained elsewhere is not known. The attendance of twenty-two nurses at the Airds' party seems remarkable, especially as the school had closed fifteen years earlier and two graduate nurses—Hilda Boyer and Edith Wilmott—had died by the time of the reunion.
64 J. W. Aird to My Many Dear Friends, October 16, 1945, in the possession of the author.
65 *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 9, 1930; Miriam B. Murphy, "'If Only I Shall Have the Right Stuff': Utah Women in World War I," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Fall 1990): 335–36, 350.
66 Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers*, 236.
67 "Nursing Years Memories from Martha Venice Foote."

APPENDIX: KNOWN GRADUATE NURSES OF PROVO GENERAL HOSPITAL

Name	Years of training*	Marriage year; surname	Nursing career; family life	FamilySearch no.
Allred, Arminia	1913–1915	1918, Naylor	In 1921, worked as a school nurse in the Tintic School District. One child.	KWJH-5R7
Anderson, Maudene	1913–1915	1920, South	Nursed until marriage.	KWZ5-Y73
Anderson, Sarah Catherine	1913–1915	1917, Evans	Nursed until marriage. Four children. No known relation to Maudene.	KWJ8-FHX
Bartholomew, Anna	1915–Nov. 1917	1920, Peterson	Nursed until marriage. One child.	KW6W-XDV
Bayles, Caroline Elizabeth	Sep. 1910–1912	1917, Raile	Graduate work at several universities. Established Provo's first public health clinic. Served four terms on Utah State Nurses Association (USNA) board. Involved with state associations for rheumatic fever, polio, tuberculosis, and the heart. Two children.	KWZ2-V7Z
Bean, Eliza	Aug. 1908–Sep. 1910	1926, Moore	Continued to work at the Aird and Utah Valley hospitals. Eight children.	KWCZ-5C4

Name	Years of training*	Marriage year; surname	Nursing career; family life	FamilySearch no.
Bean, Harriet Virginia	1904–Jun. 1906	1919, Rudd	Specialized in physical therapy. Served in WWI Army Nurse Corps in France. Three children.	KWCC-BR7
Boyer, Mahilda	1916–1919	1919, Wright	Died at 27 in 1921 from epilepsy.	KWN6-RDP
Bradford, Dora Viola	1920–1923	Never married	Graduate work at Holy Cross Hospital in Salt Lake City. Worked as a nurse in the Aird Hospital and in Salina. Moved to Santa Barbara, where she continued nursing.	KWJP-JXR
Brinton, Ireta	1913–1915	1916, Patell	Nursed until marriage. One child.	KWJX-J9D
Brown, Catherine Florence	1913–Sep. 1915	1924, James	Nursed until marriage. Three children.	KWZD-BKZ
Burles, Amy Elizabeth	1904–Jun. 1906	1914, Cleaves	Nursed until marriage. One child.	2ZSD-R1Q
Craig, Alice Elizabeth	1917–1920	1920, Syme (div. before 1934)	First nurse at Utah Valley Hospital. Became director of nursing and night supervisor (1941). Delegate to national nurses' association convention (1936) and president of local district of USNA (1943).	KN4P-KMQ
Dean, Anna	1912–Mar. 1914	1914 Corbett (died 1917); 1920, Ellsworth	Nursed until second marriage. Head hospital nurse and opened a maternity home in Mesa, Arizona. Six children.	KWC1-KFZ
Edwards, Lacy	1921–1924	1932, Ekins (died 1943)	Finished training at the Aird Hospital. Before marriage, a nurse at the Aird Hospital and Crane Maternity Home. Nursed at Utah Valley Hospital after husband's death. Twin sons; nine stepchildren.	KWCC-PM2
Foote, Fern	1905–1907	1912, Thomas	Nursed in 1910 in a Shelly, Idaho hospital. Nursed until marriage. Seven children.	KWC6-D7W
Foote, Martha Venice	1915–Nov. 1917	1925, Anderson (died 1947)	Private duty nursing, including for Reed Smoot's family. In Salt Lake City, worked in Holy Cross Hospital. Head nurse at the Aird Hospital. Worked in Salina with fellow nursing student Viola Bradford. Later chief psychiatric nurse in the Utah State Hospital. Two children. Sister of Fern.	KWZN-WCG
Gardner, Fern	1920–1923	1922, Henry	Attended BYU after nurse's training. Nursed at Salt Lake County General Hospital (1930 census). Two children.	KWV9-QDX
Holdaway, Fredonia	Sep. 1910–1912	1914, Glaze	Worked as a nurse at times. Ran the general hospital in Richfield, Utah (1921). Five children.	KWVC-7PS
Iverson, Nellie	1914–1916	1926, Smith	Worked as a stenographer but returned to nursing.	KWCT-BQY
Jackson, Irene	1918–1921	1924, Willey	Nursed until marriage. Three children.	KW6M-PJ8
Johnson, Lillian Estell	1905–1907	1909, Boyden	Nursed for a few years. Five children who reached adulthood.	KW84-1FH
Kindred, Luella	1915–Nov. 1917	1921, Strebel	Worked as a nurse at the Aird hospital. Died at 47 from peritonitis.	K243-BBH
Larson, Mary Ellen	1919–1922	1922, Miller	Worked at the Hughes Memorial Hospital in Spanish Fork for many years. One child.	KWJ8-9C2

Name	Years of training*	Marriage year; surname	Nursing career; family life	FamilySearch no.
Martain, Amy Reynolds	1918–Jun. 1921	1928, Mecham	Before marriage, worked for Drs. Merrill and Oaks, formerly with Provo General Hospital. After marriage continued to work as a nurse. Elected director of local district of USNA (1934). Four children.	KWCC-KD2
Miner, Alta Berniece	1916–1919	1919, Smith	Worked for her husband, a doctor. Five children.	KWVP-QLW
Nicholson, Mary Thelma	1918–1921	1921, Sparks (div. 1938); 1942, Jackson	Worked as a private nurse at least some of the time. Three children.	KW8S-V1Z
Otterbach, Ida Caroline	1913–Sep. 1915	1917, Carter (died 1927); 1931 Taylor	Nursed until marriage. Four children.	KWCR-QV1
Privett, Mary Annie	1917–1920	1919, Boulton	Worked as a nurse at Utah Valley Hospital after her children had grown. Six children.	KWCH-5SR
Reed, Etta Margaret	1908–Feb. 1910	1914, Pursley	Hospital nurse in Colorado in 1930s. One adopted child.	KWVM-FRK
Richmond, Erma	1919–1922	1922, Lisonbee	No information on working as a nurse after she married. One child.	KWCT-6V9
Scott, Ethel Lulu	1920–1923	1926, Taylor	A nurse at the Aird Hospital and an office nurse for Drs. Merrill and Oaks, formerly of Provo General Hospital. Nursed until marriage. Four children.	KWC2-KFY
Shelton, Dora Mae	1915–May 1918	1922, Gause (died 1928); 1929, Tennant	Worked before marriage as a private duty nurse, a surgical nurse, and a floor supervisor. After children were grown, worked as a nurse at the Cottonwood Maternity Hospital in Murray for 12 years. One child; two stepchildren.	KWCL-QZQ
Smith, Annice Loanda	1917–1920	1927, Hoskins	Nurse in Aird Hospital before moving to Santa Barbara, California. Two children.	LJLC-3ST
Sumner, Alice Elizabeth	1905–1907	1918, Johnson c. 1926, Johnson	Nursed until marriage. Moved to California. One child by her second husband, Stanley S. Johnson.	KWJJ-LQH
Sumner, Ethel	1913–1915	1915, Mecham	Nursed until marriage. Two children who reached adulthood. Sister of Alice.	KWJZ-Y8K
Sumsion, Dora S.	1911–1913	1917, Davis	Nursed until marriage. Three children.	KWCV-J7S
Sumsion, Susan	1917–1920	1923, Miller (died 1930); 1935, Switzer	Worked for Public Health Service, mostly in veterans' hospitals. Sister of Dora.	KWJ8-XSJ
Taylor, Mabel Grace	1914–Jun./Jul. 1916	1917, Wells	Nursed until marriage. Lost her RN pin and advertised a reward for it. Four children.	KW8W-WRY
Vance, Bernice	1921–1924	1925, Partridge (div. 1934); 1935, Christensen	Finished training at the Aird Hospital. Worked as a public health nurse in Utah County and as a nurse at the American Fork Hospital for many years. Five children.	K2HT-RWY
Whiting, Bertha	1917–Dec. 1920	1921, Bean	Nursed until marriage. Eight children.	KWCH-L11
Whitney, Irene Burton	1908–Sep. 1910	1911, McIntire (div. 1913)	Nursed in Roosevelt, Utah, hospital, then as a school nurse in Colorado. Two children.	KW83-2FK

Name	Years of training*	Marriage year; surname	Nursing career; family life	FamilySearch no.
Whitney, Theta Maud	1915–Nov. 1917	1920, Rich	Continued nursing the rest of her life. Husband convicted of forgery. When Theta served him divorce papers, he committed suicide. Two children who lived to adulthood.	KWZL-PHC
Wilmott, Edith Ann	1917–Jul. 1920	1922, Wadley	Nursed until marriage. Appointed director of Provo General's training school and superintendent of nurses there. Worked in the Aird Hospital. Appointed by Gov. Mabey to the state examining board for registration of nurses. Died at 34 from brain abscesses after influenza. Four children.	KWC6-9CG

Sources: Although I have located articles of incorporation, deeds, and typewritten histories for Provo General Hospital, the records for the nursing school are sparse. A few of the nurses mentioned their time there, and Venice Foote wrote an account of her experiences at the school. Fred Taylor took photographs and identified the nurses on a few of them. The names of the others come from Provo City directories, U.S. censuses, and newspaper searches. Further information on their lives and careers comes from FamilySearch.org, Ancestry.com, newspapers.com, Utah Digital Newspapers, and Google.

*Dates are approximate unless they begin with a month.

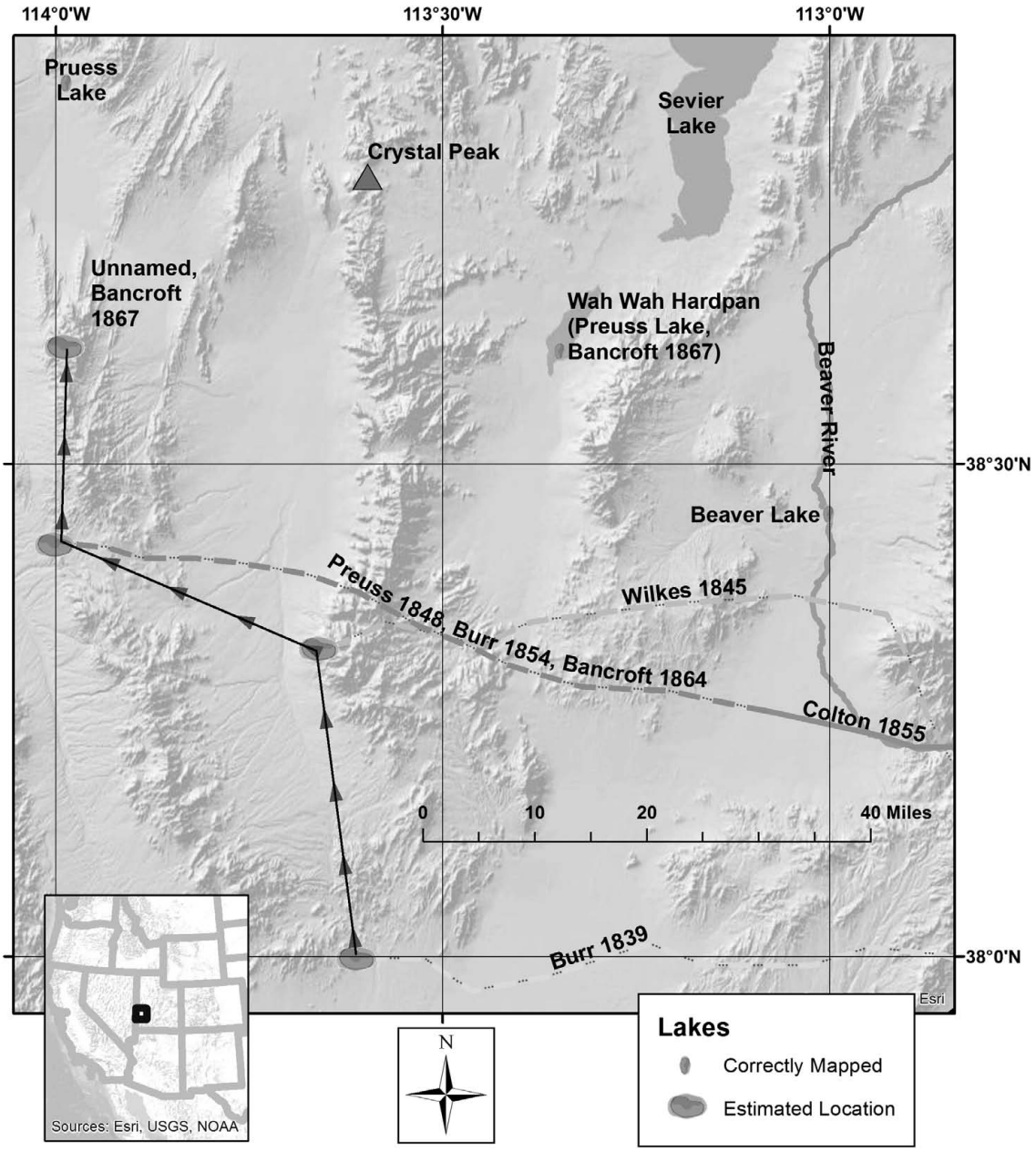


Figure 1. A map indicating the various depictions of "Beaver Lake," the water body surmised to be represented at the end of the Beaver (or Lost) River on the maps derived from the "Smith Map." The dashed lines represent the different courses cartographers assigned to the Beaver River over the years. The position of the lake and river moved north and west, until the lake finally stopped being drawn at the end of the Beaver River and was ultimately identified as today's Pruess Lake. (Map by the author.)

THE MOUNTAIN MEN, THE CARTOGRAPHERS, AND THE LAKES

BY SHERI WYSONG

Six miles north of Milford, Utah, was once a small seasonal wetland—more of a sink than a lake—that sat in a depression along the path of the Beaver River, was optimistically called Beaver Lake, and disappeared as white settlers diverted water from the river for irrigation. Five miles south of Garrison, Utah, in the Snake Valley near the Nevada border, sits Pruess Lake, another small water body now altered by diversions.[1] These two diminutive features—seemingly unconnected, one of them no longer extant—are part of a larger story that involves some of the major characters of American exploration and cartography in the nineteenth century, including William Ashley, Jedediah Smith, Charles Preuss, and especially David H. Burr. The four men were linearly linked through their activities: Smith and Ashley through the fur trade in the 1820s, Ashley and Burr through government positions in Washington D.C. in the 1830s, and Burr and Preuss through cartographic work in the same city in the 1840s. This article is about the discovery, mapping, and naming of these two lakes, a case study that teaches about the shifting, incomplete understanding and representation of geography in the American West.

In 1822, the Missouri businessman William Ashley partnered with the veteran fur trader Andrew Henry to hire "Ashley's Hundred": one hundred "enterprising young men" who would travel to the Rocky Mountains to trap beaver. One of these young man was Jedediah S. Smith, who became a legendary explorer of the West. In 1826 and 1827, Smith traversed the Great Basin from north to south and west to east. In Utah, the areas Smith explored included the southwestern portion of the state.[2] Smith and his partners David E. Jackson and William Sublette, who bought out Ashley in 1826, returned to St. Louis in 1830, where they collaborated with Ashley on creating a map of the Rocky Mountain region. The map—which was largely attributed to Smith and is commonly referred to as "the Smith Map"—would provide mid-nineteenth century cartographers with a new and more accurate understanding of the region, particularly the Great Basin.[3]

Before cartographers had access to the Smith Map, they relied on the explorations and maps of Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante to fill in some of the geographic blanks of the Great Basin. In 1776, Domínguez and Escalante set out from Sante Fe to find an overland route to southern California. Unlike Smith and Ashley, who had accumulated their understanding of the region from years of their own travels and from other fur traders, the fathers were limited to their knowledge of a path they traversed once, augmented by conjecture based on the information they had gleaned from Native Americans. The Domínguez and Escalante maps of the Great Basin formed the basis of highly inaccurate depictions of the region for over half a century after their travels.

Twenty-five years after the creation of the Smith Map, in 1855, another key player in the mapping of the West—David Hugh Burr—arrived in the Territory of Utah as its surveyor general. That August, Burr set a sandstone monument at the southeast corner of the Temple Block in Salt Lake City that marked the reference point for all future surveying for most of the state and is still in use today (fig. 2).[4] In addition to his surveying, Burr may have left another historical fingerprint in Utah, one that is little known but significant in its own right, with regards to the mapping and naming of Beaver and Pruess lakes. And, in making the connection between the lakes, a larger story becomes evident: Burr might well have been influential in the preparation of the 1848 Frémont-Preuss map, accounting for the enigmas found on that map that have remained unexplained until now.

Burr, who was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1803, became the aide-de-camp to Governor DeWitt Clinton in 1825. Soon thereafter, he was appointed to the job that became the first of his true callings: heading up a road surveying crew, mapping the roads in the state of New York.[5] Upon completion of the surveys, Burr ventured into his second true calling—cartography. He used the reports and maps from the road surveys to compile an atlas of the state of New York, which he self-published in 1830.[6] Burr then set his sights higher and began work on a world atlas, probably planning to publish it himself. He could not complete the atlas, however, because in the early 1830s, he accepted an appointment as the Topographer to the U.S. Post Office and moved his family to Washington, D.C. The engravers of the maps took over the project, and D. S. Stone of New York City completed and published the *Universal Atlas* in 1835.[7] Further, according to Walter Ristow, Joseph H. Colton broke into the cartography business around 1831 in New York City by purchasing the copyrights of Burr's maps of New York state. Colton did not publish any maps until 1833, at which time he published revised editions of Burr's maps of New York, Ohio, and Texas, as well as Burr's new map of the United States. The J. H. Colton Company eventually grew to become one of the preeminent map publishing companies of the nineteenth century.[8]

Meanwhile, several months prior to Burr's arrival in Washington, D.C., Ashley was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from the state of Missouri.[9] Smith had died in the spring of 1831, and Ashley was in possession of the Smith Map for at least part of the time period he was in Washington. A July 19, 1834, letter from Hugh Campbell to his brother Robert Campbell—a fellow trapper and friend of Jedediah Smith—discussed publishing Smith's memoirs and map. Hugh stated that the previous February, Ira Smith, Jedediah Smith's brother, had "promised to send me the Journal & a map left by his brother with a view to their arrangement for publication. He has gone to Santa fe and perhaps he has left them in charge of some person. Gen. Ashley had the maps which he said he would procure from him." Ashley, as evidenced in the following paragraph, most certainly provided the Smith Map to Burr to use as a reference.[10]

In 1836, Burr traveled to London to collaborate with the British cartographer John Arrowsmith to produce an atlas of the United States, which Arrowsmith published in 1839.[11] Burr based the western portion of one of the maps, *Map of the United States of North America with Parts of Adjacent Countries*, upon information that could only have come from the Smith Map.[12] Maurice Sullivan, an early researcher of Smith, wrote in 1934 that, "Besides the *Journal* there is a map, drawn in 1839. This map, entirely overlooked by scholars who have contradicted one another about the routes of Jedediah Smith, plainly is based on Jedediah's own directions, if not actually copied from the long-missing chart.

Figure 2. A replica of the Great Salt Lake Base and Meridian monument, which stands at the southeast corner of Temple Square in Salt Lake City. Benjamin Thomas Mitchell carved the original monument, and David H. Burr placed it at the site in August 1855. (Photograph by the author.)

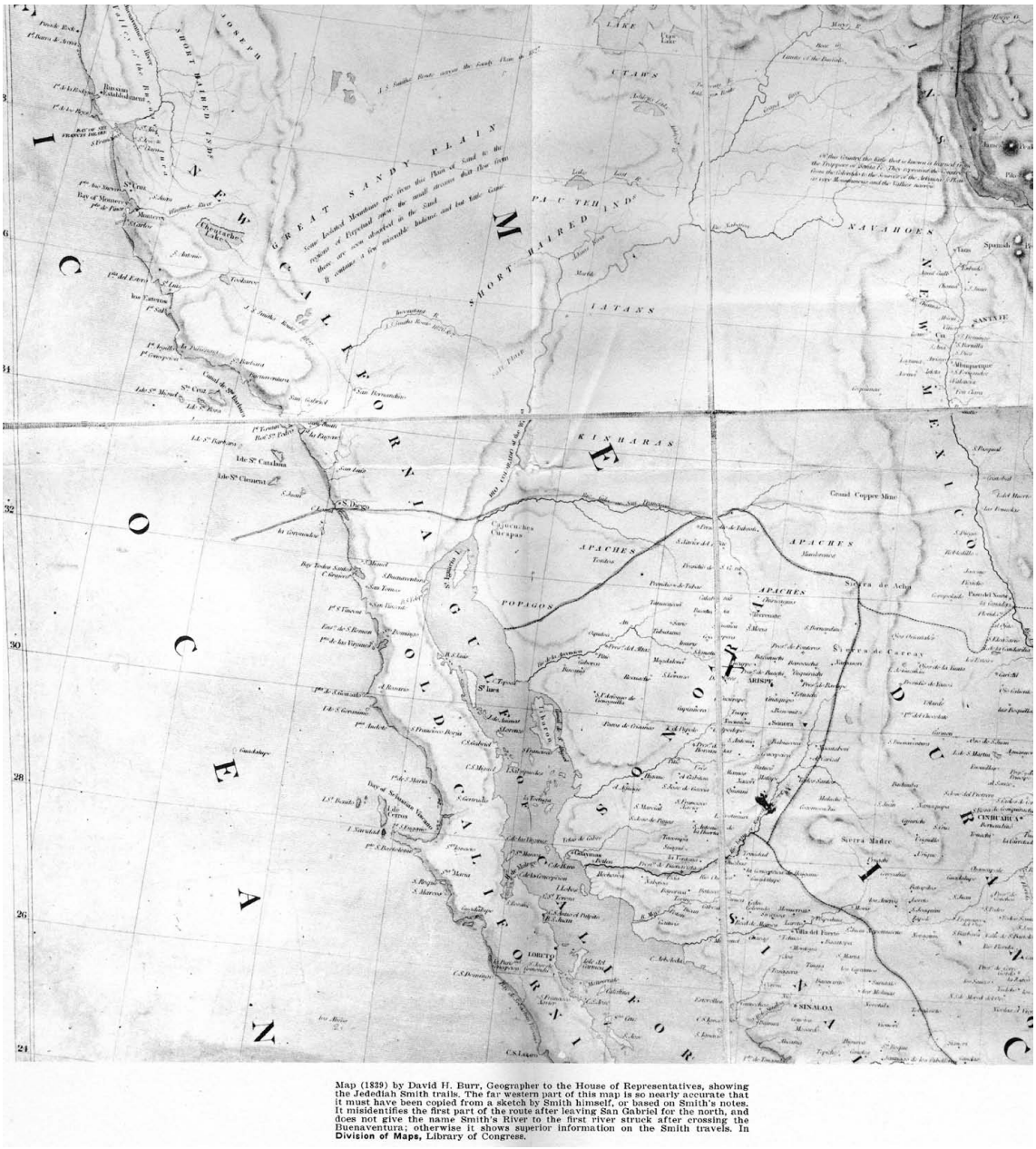


Figure 3. A reproduction of David H. Burr's 1839 *Map of the United States of North America* that Maurice Sullivan included in his 1934 edition of *The Travels of Jedediah Smith*. Sullivan's caption of the map reads: "Map (1839) by David H. Burr, Geographer to the House of Representatives, showing the Jedediah Smith trails. The far western part of this map is so nearly accurate that it must have been copied from a sketch by Mr. Smith himself, or based on Smith's notes." (Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith*, 1934.)

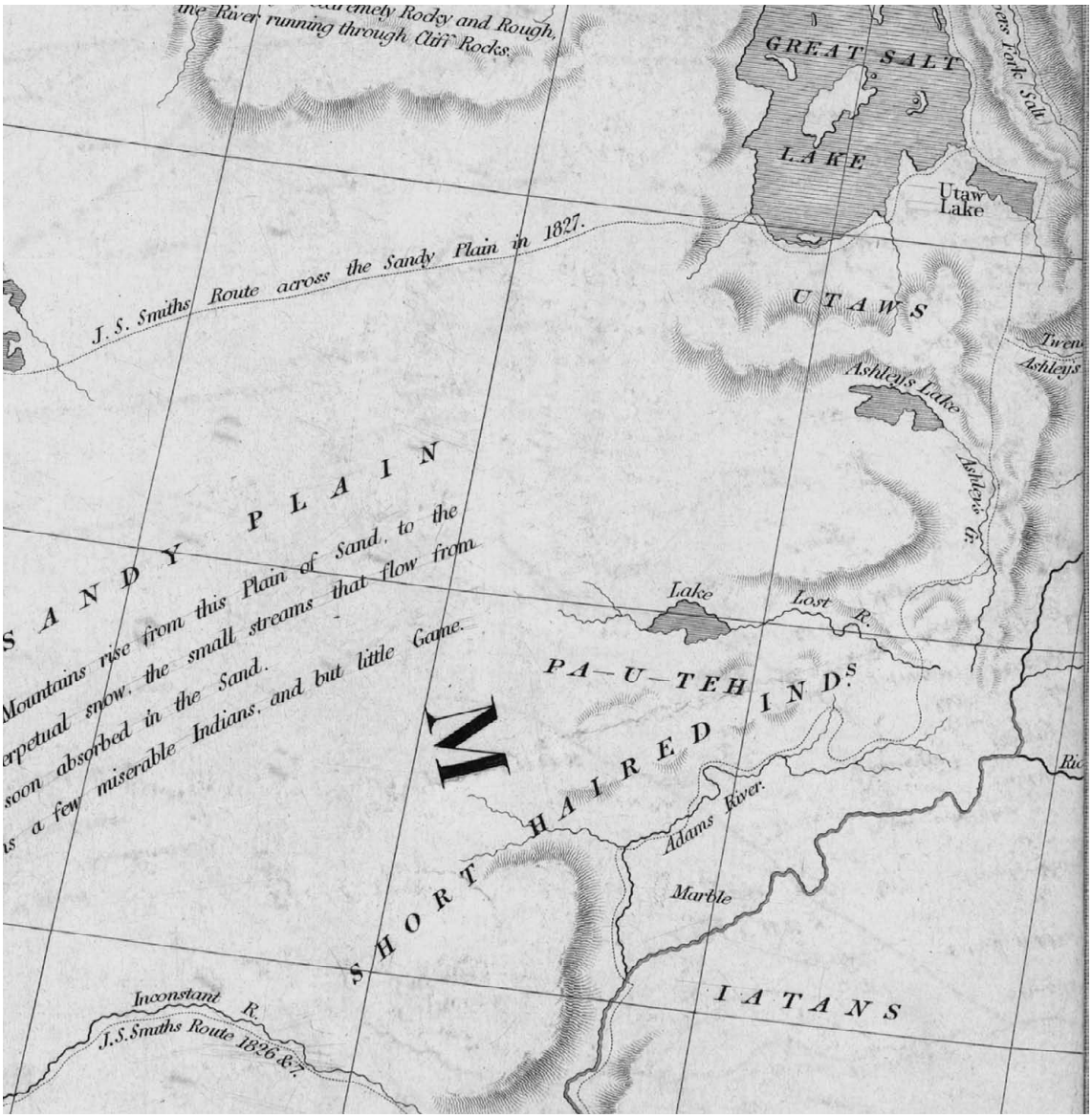


Figure 4. Detail of David H. Burr's *Map of the United States of North America*. In the middle portion of the map, the Lost (Beaver) River can be seen as flowing into what would be called on later maps "Beaver Lake." In 1826, Jedediah Smith followed the river west about to probably the point of the "R." on the map, before abandoning it and turning south. Smith's 1827 route to California intersects the river just west of where its eastern head is depicted (Courtesy Library of Congress, G3700 1839 .B81).

On it the trails blazed by Smith are definitely shown."[13] Sullivan was referring to Burr's 1839 map and even included with the first printing of the book a foldout copy of the western portion of the map (fig. 3).

Not only did Burr's 1839 map include Smith's routes but those of Ashley as well, who also did some exploring although not to the extent of Smith (fig. 4). Why would an atlas map include the routes of western explorers? Perhaps because the map used for the atlas was originally meant for another purpose. It also depicted routes unrelated to Ashley and Smith, such Stephen Harriman Long's route and the St. Louis to Santa Fe Trail. Burr might have intended the western portion of his map for government use, drawing it to provide information on the exploration of the region west of the settled United States, and so Ashley proffered the Smith Map to him for that purpose. The cartographic historian Carl Irving Wheat documented that "*A Manuscript Map of the Western part of the United States and Northern part of Mexico* compiled for this department by David H. Burr" went missing from the Department of State sometime prior to October 28, 1839. Wheat speculated that it could have been Burr's copy of the Smith Map.[14] Burr might have "borrowed" the map, extended it to the east and south by copying his 1832 *Mexico* and his 1833 *United States* from the 1835 universal atlas, and then sent it to Arrowsmith to include it with the 1839 atlas.[15]

Wheat also discussed another Burr map, *Northwest-Coast of North America and adjacent Territories*, which was published the next year, in 1840.[16] It may have been that this map (which was used for Robert Greenhow's memoirs) was initiated for the 1839 atlas map, but to expedite publication of the atlas, Burr chose to copy existing maps. Still, Burr's 1840 map also relied on the Smith Map, particularly depicting Smith's Utah geography. The most compelling evidence of this derivation is the presence of two rivers, the Sevier, which he called "Ashley's River," and the Beaver, which he called "Lost River." Smith described naming these rivers in two segments of his memoir, one found in the 1920s and published by Sullivan in 1934 and another found in 1967 and published by George R. Brooks in 1979.

Beaver Lake, in other words, was a mud flat that mired their animals.

Smith had encountered the Beaver River twice during his travels, in 1826 and 1827, and named it "Lost Creek" because as he followed it west in 1826 from the foothills of the Tushar Range, "the water began to fail and was apparently soon lost in the sand."[17] Clues about where the water "began to fail" come from early Mormon history. In the late 1850s, Mormons tried to settle a townsite along the river about two-and-a-half miles northwest of present-day Minersville. They then moved upstream to the town's current location due to a lack of water, only to have the same problem finally solved by building canals and dams.[18]

The Domínguez-Escalante journal provides further clues about the nature of the river prior to settlement. In early October 1776, the fathers encountered the Beaver River bed, which they called "Arroyo del Tejedor," west of Clear Lake in Millard County. They ascended it south to about six miles south of Milford before departing the streambed and traveling southwest. Although they found pools of brackish water in the streambed, they never encountered flowing water. Domínguez and Escalante described travel through the area on October 8, 1776, as "so soft and miry everywhere that many pack animals and mounts, even those that were loose, either fell down or became stuck altogether." Beaver Lake, in other words, was a mud flat that mired their animals.[19] From this information, I have deduced that spring runoff would contribute enough water to allow the river to flow as far north as its mouth on the Sevier River. As it did so, it would spread out in the depression a few miles north of Milford, filling "Beaver Lake." But as the runoff ebbed so did the river, which would stop flowing well upstream of Beaver Lake, which would in turn become a mud flat by late summer. Currently, Minersville Reservoir holds back the spring runoff, and only in years of unusually high

snowpack in southern Utah does water flow north of Milford.

Smith would have descended the Beaver River toward the point from which Domínguez and Escalante had departed it about five weeks earlier in the year. The river might have still been flowing to that point, but Smith still would have been about eleven miles south of Beaver Lake and could not have observed it. Both of the Burr maps depict a "Lost R." ending in an inland lake (simply labeled "Lake" in the 1839 map), which might explain Smith's use of "apparently" in describing the origins of his name for the river. Daniel Potts, one of Smith's employees, led an exploration party in the area around Sevier Lake in the spring of 1827 and possibly observed what was called "Beaver Lake" (temporarily full due to spring runoff) on the 1873 map by United States Geological Surveyor George Wheeler. Wheeler's map placed Beaver Lake almost exactly on the intersection of longitude 113° and latitude 38°25′ in the Beaver River bottoms north of Milford, Utah, and southeast of the Beaver Lake Mountains.[20] Potts would almost certainly have relayed the information found during the party's exploration to Smith or one of his partners, which could then have led to its inclusion on the Smith Map.[21] The lake surmised to be Beaver Lake appears on other maps derived from the Smith Map, including Albert Gallatin's *Map of the Indian Tribes of North America* (1836) and Charles Wilkes's *Map of Upper California* (1844)—although Gallatin and Wilkes differ slightly from each other and from Burr regarding the lake's longitude and latitude projection.[22]

Why all these cartographers shifted the location of Beaver Lake could be the subject of its own article; indeed Morgan and Wheat wrote extensively on the discrepancies of the various Smith-derived maps. But it is apparent that when trying to map the location of a lake that had never been properly geolocated—not until after Mormons settled the area in 1859 was it mapped with instruments sophisticated enough to accurately determine latitude and longitude—or even described, cartographers eventually located it in a postion that led to its identity being swallowed by that of an entirely different lake.

Pruess Lake is a small lake, about one square mile in size, fed by the Big Springs or Lake Creek, in Snake Valley on the Utah-Nevada border. It was originally two smaller lakes, but upstream water diversion and a dam built in 1900 to support irrigation resulted in one lake with an upstream marsh. It is named for Charles Preuss, ("Preuss" rhymes with "grouse") one of the cartographers for John C. Frémont (fig. 5). Neither Preuss nor Frémont had been to Snake Valley, so how did a geographic feature, unknown at the time of their travels, come to be named after Preuss? I wondered about this for many years. Then one day, a historic map published by a colleague of David H. Burr provided me with a partial answer.[23]

The German-born Preuss accompanied Frémont on his first (1842), second (1843–1844), and fourth expeditions (winter of 1848–1849).[24] After the first and second expeditions, he drafted the *Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842, Oregon and California in the Years 1843–44*, which was published in 1844 and again in 1845 (fig. 6).[25] Sometime after Preuss completed this map, the Senate or-

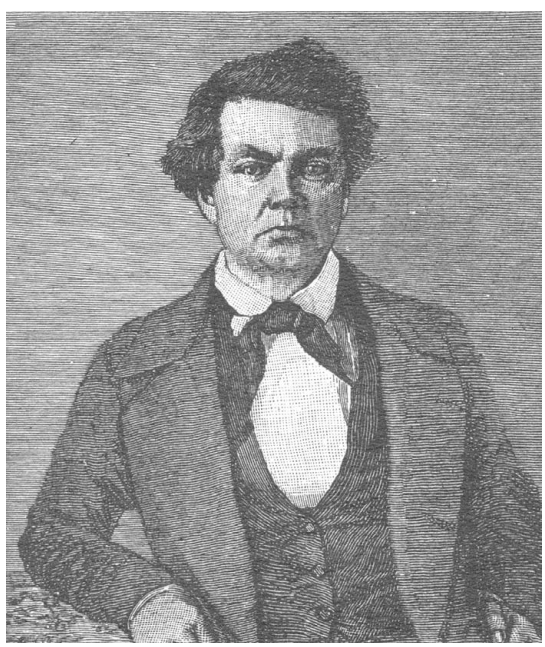


Figure 5. A portrait of Charles Preuss, the German-born cartographer for three of John C. Frémont's expeditions. This reproduction originally came from a daguerreotype published in 1891 in *Century Magazine*. (LeRoy Hafen, ed., *The Fremont Disaster*, 1848–1849, 1960.)

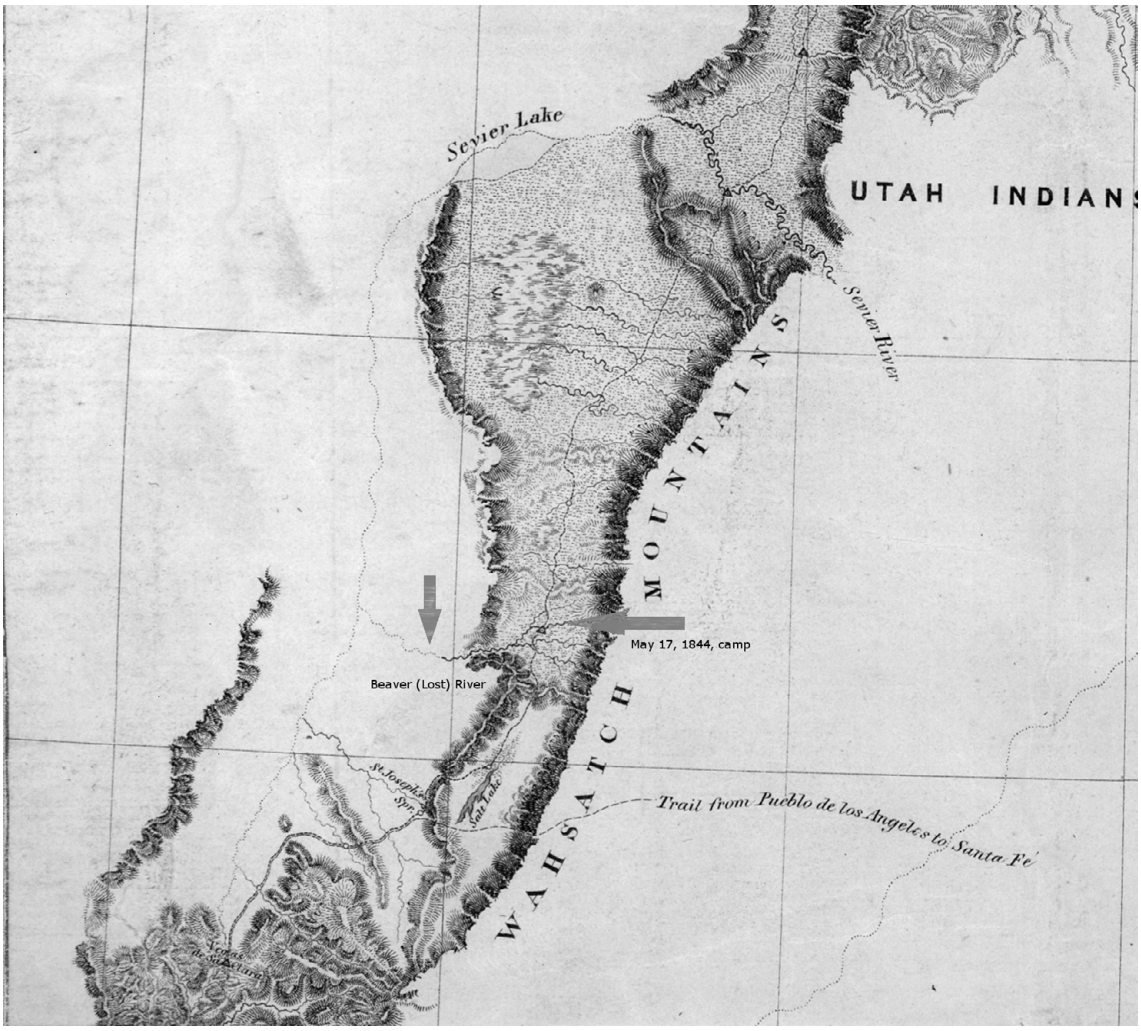


Figure 6. Detail of *Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842, Oregon and California in the Years 1843–44*, by John C. Frémont and Charles Preuss, with overlays. The first arrow points to Frémont and Preuss's concept of the route of the Beaver or "Lost" River. As the river continues west from Minersville, Frémont and Preuss used a dashed rather than solid line. When it reaches about longitude 113°20′, it enters into north flowing streambed (again indicated by a dashed line), coming up from the region of Mountain Meadows, continuing north to the south end of the Sevier Lake. It is unclear if the dashed lines were meant to indicate that these were speculated courses or ephemeral streams, which might have led to incorrect assumptions by subsequent cartographers. Another arrow points to the May 17, 1844, campsite on the Beaver River; the expedition did not explore very far west of this site. (Courtesy Library of Congress, G4051.S12 1844 .F72.)

dered the preparation of a map of the Oregon Trail. Preuss declined to accompany Frémont on his third expedition (1845), staying behind to compile the *Map of the Road from Missouri to Oregon* using his and Frémont's notes and drawings. He published the Oregon Trail map in 1846. The Senate was apparently pleased with Preuss's work, and on February 2, 1847, it commissioned him to prepare a map of Oregon, California, and the central section of the Rocky Mountains "with the additions which the present expedition of Lieutenant Colonel Frémont may contribute to the work."[26]

Frémont, who had just been appointed the military governor of California, sent Preuss Edward M. Kern's topographic reports and maps for the third expedition's 1845 travels through the Great Basin and 1846 travels through California, which took place prior to the outbreak

of the Mexican-American War.[27] In preparing this *Map of Oregon and upper California from the surveys of John Charles Frémont and other authorities*, Preuss did some peculiar things. Rather than build upon his and Frémont's earlier 1845 map, he seems to have used Burr's 1839 and 1840 maps. This may have been because the 1845 map did not deal with much of the region Preuss needed to cover. It does not explain why, however, Preuss made some drastic changes in the geography that he and Frémont had more correctly depicted in 1845. Burr may well have been in Washington, D.C., at some point while Preuss was working on his map.[28] Although evidence indicates Burr had returned to surveying and was in the South through much of the mid 1840s, he may have returned to D.C. in late 1847 and early 1848 and influenced Preuss to use Smith geography for the unexplored regions of the Great Basin, since Preuss definitely did so.[29]

Preuss made an intriguing change in his portrayal of the Beaver River. The 1844–1845 map depicts the river head at about 38°30′ latitude in the Tushar Mountains above Beaver, Utah, where Frémont's entourage had camped on May 17, 1844, and ending in the Sevier Lake (see the caption to fig. 6). However, on the 1848 map, Preuss's representation of the Beaver River reverted back to something similar to the Burr and Wilkes maps: a river flowing almost

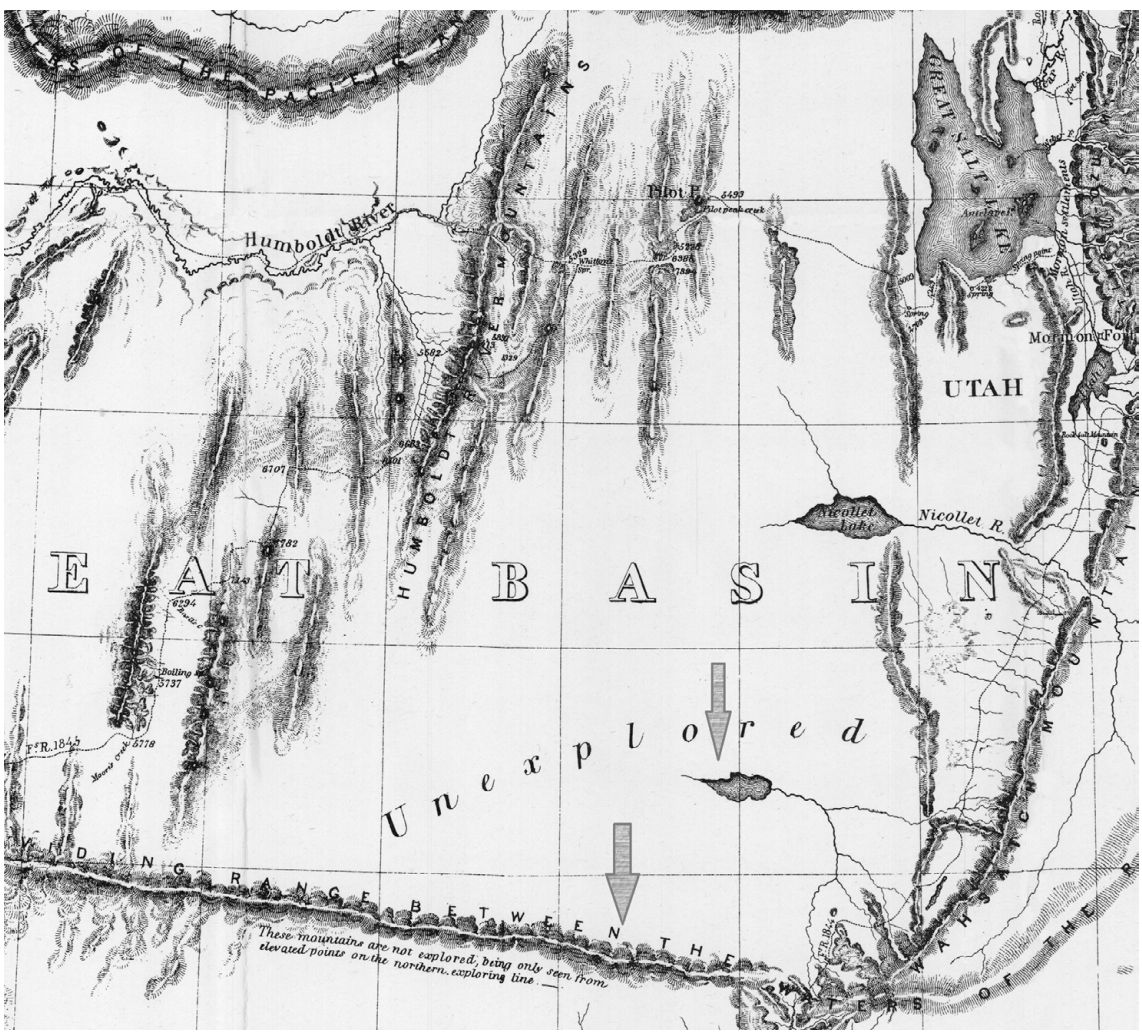


Figure 7. Map of Oregon and upper California (1848) by Charles Preuss and John C. Frémont, with overlays. The arrows point to an unnamed lake straddling longitude 114° and to the east-west mountain range that Frémont mistakenly believed to exist. (Courtesy Library of Congress, G4210 1848 .F72.)

due west, ending in an unconnected lake to the southwest of Sevier Lake (called "Nicolett Lake" by Frémont). Preuss, however, moved the lake at the end of the river farther west to the 114° degree longitude line, with both river and lake unnamed (fig. 7). He then repeated the error of having streams flow north from the region of Mountain Meadows, connecting with the Beaver River before feeding into the lake.[30]

Preuss was persuaded to accompany Frémont on his fourth expedition, when Frémont recklessly chose to cross the Rocky Mountains during the winter and lost ten men.[31] When Frémont and those of his remaining men who chose to continue from Taos to California—a group that included Preuss—arrived in late in the winter of 1849, they dispersed to take advantage of the newly discovered gold strikes. Preuss struggled to get a foothold in the region but returned to Washington, D.C., in 1850. Back in the East, among other things, he created the *Map of a Reconnaissance between Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri and the Great Salt Lake* with John Gunnison, which portrayed Howard Stansbury's 1851 explorations around the Great Salt Lake. On January 13, 1852, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution to hire a draughtsman "to mark and lay down the on the maps, now in the room of the Committee on Public Lands, the state of the surveys" and subsequently appointed Burr to the position.[32] But Preuss remained unable to find a niche. Then, on September 1, 1854, Preuss hung himself.[33]

Preuss may have forever been remembered only for his contributions to "Frémont's" maps and expeditions. But, in 1855, there was an intriguing change on a map published in a world atlas by J. H. Colton, *Map of the United States*, which now called the unnamed lake depicted in the 1848 Frémont-Preuss and 1854 Burr maps "Preuss Lake" (fig. 8). Further, in the same atlas, Colton published a map, *Territories of New Mexico and Utah*, that also no longer showed the lake as fed by the Beaver River, (the map showed the east-west portion of the Beaver River separately) but rather only by the streams coming northwest from Mountain Meadows. This came closer to the actual nature of Pruess Lake (note the change in spelling).[34]

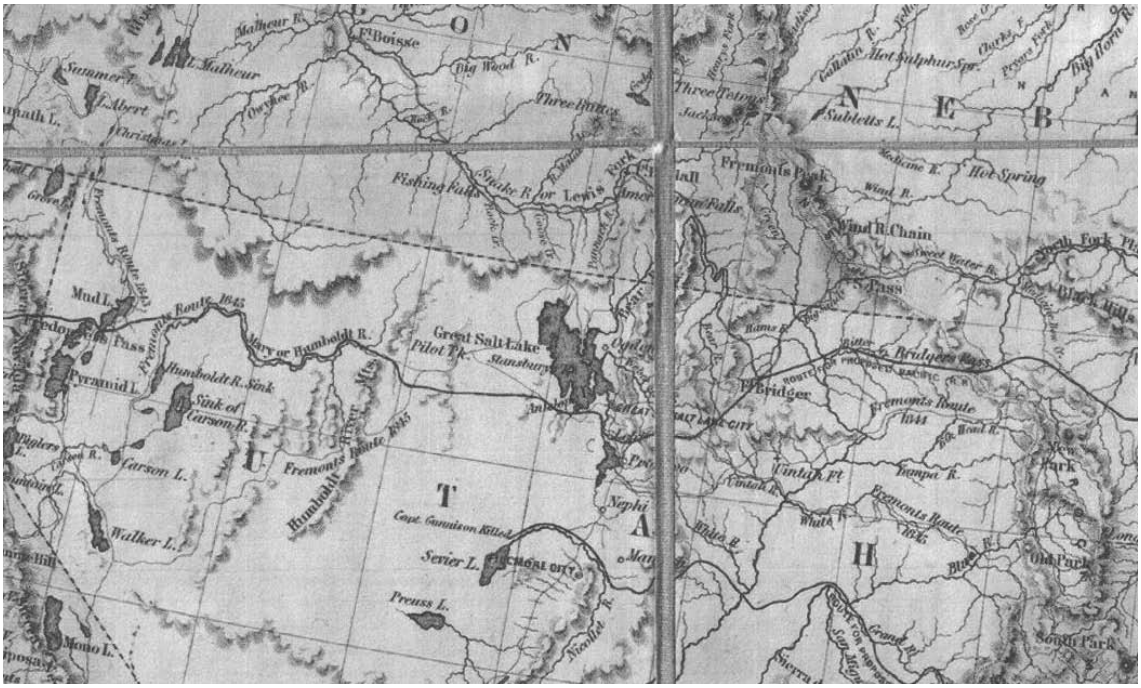


Figure 8. Detail of George W. Colton's *1855 Map of the United States*, published as a pocket map, with "Preuss L." at bottom center, between longitudes 113° and 115°. Note, above the lake, the notation "Capt. Gunnison Killed." This was the same Gunnison with whom Preuss had worked just three years earlier. (Author's collection.)

The first known Anglo exploration of the area around what is currently named Pruess Lake occurred in the late spring of 1855. That year, Brigham Young sent the White Mountain expedition of twelve men into Snake Valley, a north-south trending valley that crosses the Utah-Nevada line on longitude 114°.[35] They found a small lake, just east of the line, about one to one-half a degree north of where the Burr and Frémont maps (among others) had depicted the lake at the end of Smith's "Lost River."[36]

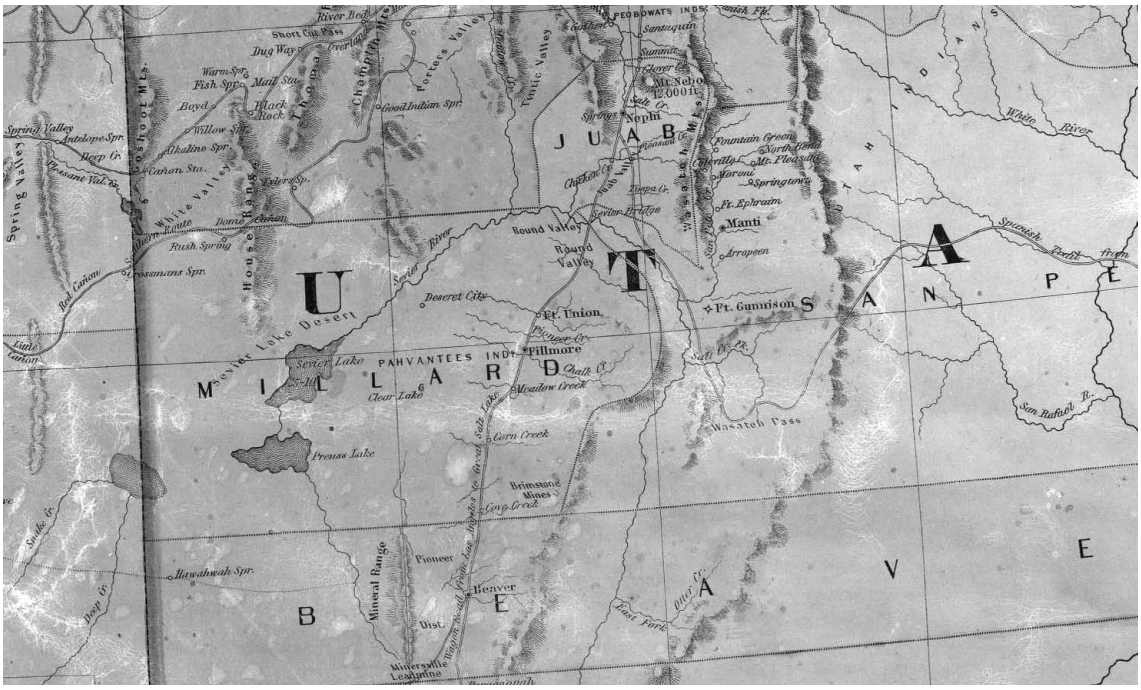
How did it come to be called Preuss Lake, and how did this information get relayed to cartographers so quickly? As it so happens, just as the reports of the White Mountain expedition were being completed in the summer of 1855, Surveyor General David H. Burr arrived in Utah. Before Burr left for Utah, he had produced his *Map of the United States, 1854*.[37] On this map, published two months prior to Preuss's death, the lake on longitude 114° remained nameless.[38] But now, the White Mountain explorers had verified that a lake existed on longitude 114°. Burr's activities in the previous twenty years put him in an ideal position to encourage naming the lake for Preuss and to remove the Beaver River as its source for cartographers, most notably Richard Swainson Fisher.[39] Fisher had published Burr's 1845 map of Texas and made significant contributions to G. W. Colton's 1855 and 1856 atlases.

Could Burr have relayed the information about the lake to Fisher and Colton in time to change the source of the lake and add Preuss's name on the 1855 maps? Up until the time John M. Hockaday established reliable mail service between Utah and Missouri in 1858, it had been undependable. William M. F. McGraw had the contract at the time, and the Mormons were not happy with his service. But Hockaday, by the time of Burr's arrival, had also established a monthly stage service in the state and was working with McGraw.[40] If a letter from Burr to Fisher was sent from Utah late in the summer of 1855, took a month to arrive in St. Joseph, Kansas, another two weeks via steamship up the Missouri and Ohio rivers to Pittsburgh, and finally traveled by rail to New York City, it could have arrived there in time to make a change to maps published that same year.[41]

The following year, in 1856, Colton republished his 1855 atlas and continued calling the small water body on longitude 114° "Preuss Lake."[42] By 1865, the Colton maps had changed the nature of Preuss Lake. These maps showed the lake as having an outlet that flowed *east* to the Beaver River, instead of being fed by a west-flowing Beaver River—a depiction that reverted back to the 1845 Frémont-Preuss map.[43] After 1866, when the Utah-Nevada border was established on longitude 114°, Colton placed Preuss Lake on that border but continued to show an east-flowing outlet.[44]

The shifting representation of Preuss Lake in the 1860s occurred with other mapmakers as well. In 1864, the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft drew Preuss Lake as the 1854 Burr map had, but by 1867, he made a dramatic shift from maps derived from the original Smith Map.[45] The increased Mormon settlement of the region had undoubtedly led to more geographic information reaching cartographers, including information about one feature currently named the "Wah Wah Valley hardpan." The hardpan sits about five miles southwest of the southernmost point of the Sevier Lake and is the terminus of the Wah Wah Wash. The wash occasionally collects water from the mountains on the east and west sides of the valley and flows from south to north to the hardpan. Bancroft must have recognized that the "Preuss Lake" of the Colton maps had been farther east on the earlier maps and deduced that it was actually meant to be the Wah Wah hardpan, about halfway between longitudes 113° and 114° (fig. 9).[46] He then tried to reconcile the Beaver River

The shifting representation of Preuss Lake in the 1860s occurred with other mapmakers as well.


Nephi
Round Valley
Manti
Ft. Ephraim
Ft. Union
Fillmore
Ft. Gunnison
Sevier Lake
Preuss Lake
Wasatch Pass
Beaver
Pioneer
Dist.
Minersville
Deseret City
Clear Lake
Corn Creek
Brimstone Mines
Hawawah Spr.
Mineral Range
Fremont's Lake
Round Valley
Sevier River
Beaver River
Spanish Fork
Fountain Green
Mt. Pleasant
Springville
Santaquin
Mt. Nebo
12,000 ft.
Good Indian Spr.
Fortes Valley
Tintic Valley
Chalk Cr.
Meadow Creek
Salt Lake
Salt Lake Pk.
Little Cottonwood
Big Cottonwood
Little Cr.
Last Fork
Sevier Bridge
Arrapeen
Pioneer Cr.
Pahvantees Ind.
Desert
Lake Desert
Spring Valley
White Valley
Red Canon
Snake Cr.
Deep Cr.
Carbon Sta.
Alkaline Spr.
Willow Spr.
Black Rock
Warm Spr.
Fish Spr.
Mail Sta.
Short Cut Pass
Dug Way
Antelope Spr.
Rush Spring
Rossmans Spr.
Dome Canon
Tosevitz Valley
Sevier Lake
Sevier Lake Desert
Pahvantees Ind.
Mineral Range
Beaver Creek Ranges
Wah Wah Mts.
Wah Wah Valley
Pioneer Mts.
Tintic Mts.
Wasatch Mts.
Sanpete Valley
Sanpete Mts.
Utah Valley
Uinta Cr.
Chicken Cr.
Salt Lake Pk.
San Rafael R.
White River
Spanish Fork
Fremont's Lake
Utah Lake
Sevier Lake
Utah
Millard
Juab
Sanpete
Utah Valley
Wasatch Mts.
Sevier Lake
Sevier Lake Desert
Pahvantees Ind.
Pioneer Mts.
Mineral Range
Beaver Creek Ranges
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Sanpete Valley
Sanpete Mts.
Utah Valley
Utah Lake

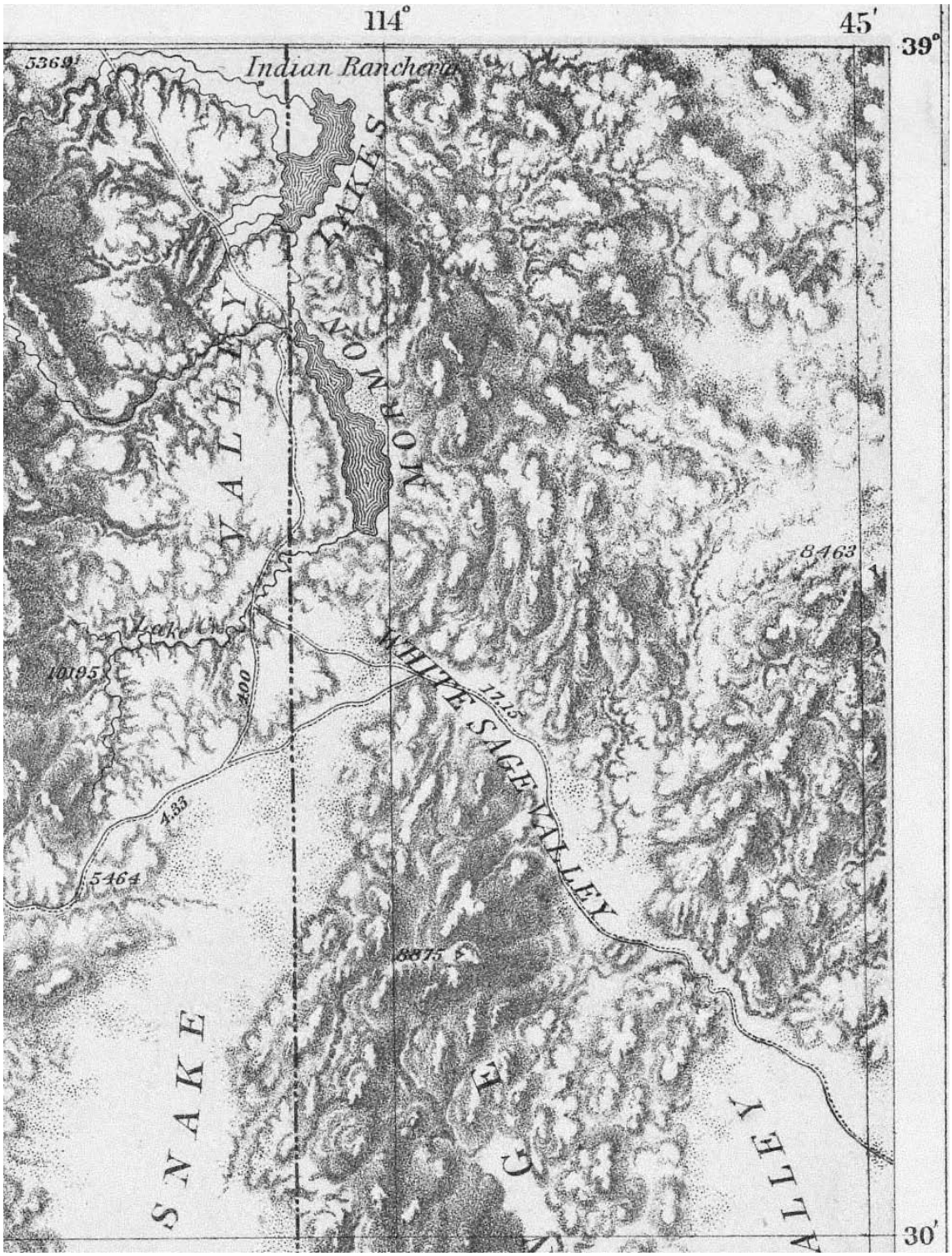

Figure 10. Detail of George M. Wheeler's 1872 *Parts of Eastern and Southern Nevada and Southwestern Utah*. Note the "Mormon Lakes" at the top of detail, along longitude 114°. (Courtesy David Rumsey Map Collection, P1281-75.)

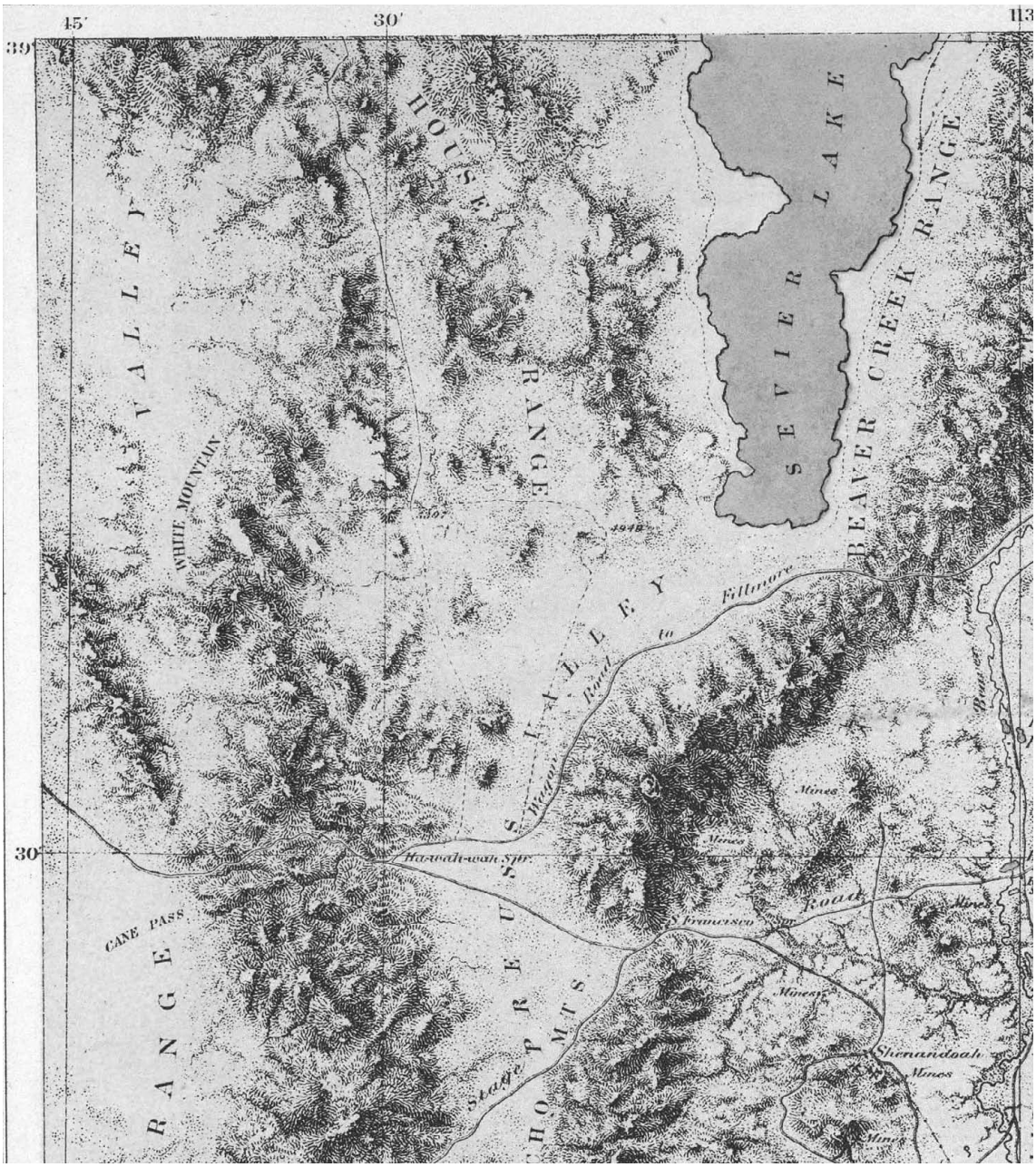

Figure 11. George M. Wheeler, *59. Southwestern Utah*. Note "Preuss Valley" at the center bottom. Detail. (Courtesy David Rumsey Map Collection, P1281-78.)

1878 map, as well as other maps derived from Wheeler, did likewise (fig. 12).[53]

Neither "Mormon Lakes" nor "Preuss Valley" remained on maps for long—notwithstanding my theory that cartographers meant to call the lake found by the White River expedition in 1855 "Preuss Lake" or because the Mormons had identified the lake as such. The year after Wheeler published his maps, 1874, the first known map that depicted Pruess Lake with its correct source and current name (but spelled "Preuss") was published.[54] Then, in 1878, B.A.M. Froiseth published a *New Section and Mineral Map of Utah,* which spelled the lake's name with the *e* and the *u* transposed, resulting in "Pruess Lake," by which it is known today (fig. 13).[55] In 1886, Colton started depicting

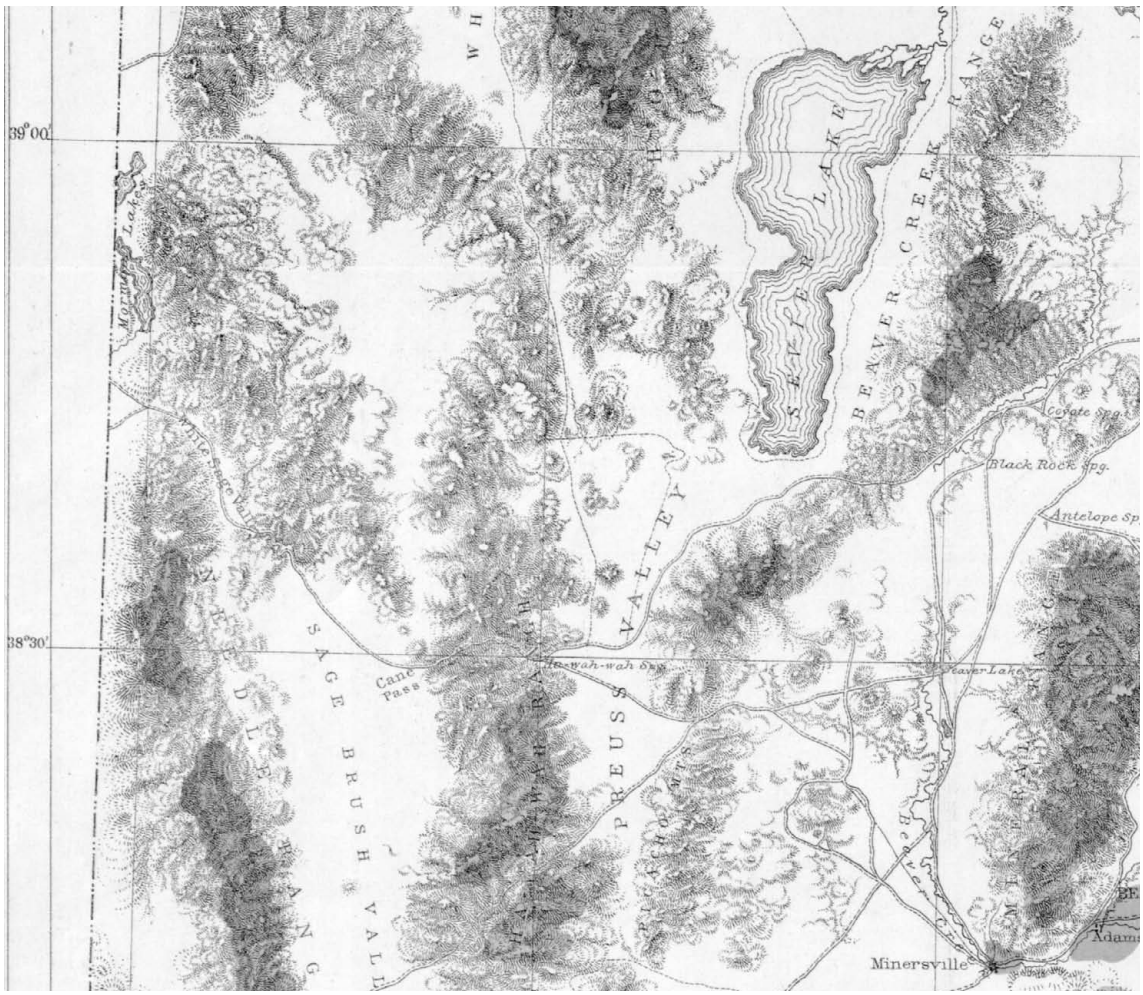

Figure 12. *Map of Utah Territory Representing the Extent of the Irrigable, Timber and Pasture Lands* (1878), compiled and drawn Charles Mahon for the Commissioner of Public Lands. Note, in the northwest quadrant, the "Mormon Lake," now called Pruess Lake. In the southeast quadrant is Beaver Creek (River) at about the point at which "Beaver Lake" is located. Between these points is "Preuss Valley." (Courtesy Library of Congress, G4340 1878 .G4.)

the lake's location and source correctly but with Froiseth's incorrect spelling.[56] George F. Cram, in a 1922 map, spelled it correctly, but all other later maps examined for this article spelled it "Pruess."[57] An 1874 map by Asher and Adams also depicted "Preuss Valley" (indicating that they had based the map on Wheeler) but changed it to "Preuss District." "Preuss Valley" began disappearing from maps as cartographers began calling Wah Wah Valley by its current name, as indicated by a map made by Mosiah Hall.[58] The latest map on which I have found Preuss Valley is the 1960 *Landforms of Utah in Proportional Relief* by Merrill K. Ridd, on which it is called "Wah Wah (Preuss) Valley."

A final geographic mystery about these lakes remains. How did Beaver Lake, which is located almost exactly on longitude 113°, come to be located on longitude 114° on so many maps? An examination of Burr's 1839 map indicates that Smith may have placed the "lake" about 30 minutes too far west, between 113° and 114° longitude, and 30 minutes too far south at latitude 38°. Then in 1848, Preuss pushed Beaver Lake 30 minutes both west and north until it straddled longitude 114° at about latitude 38°25′, landing it about 35 miles south of Pruess Lake. Subsequent cartographers, until Bancroft, followed suit. Preuss had moved the "lake" north to reconcile it being the eastern end of the westerly flowing Beaver River,

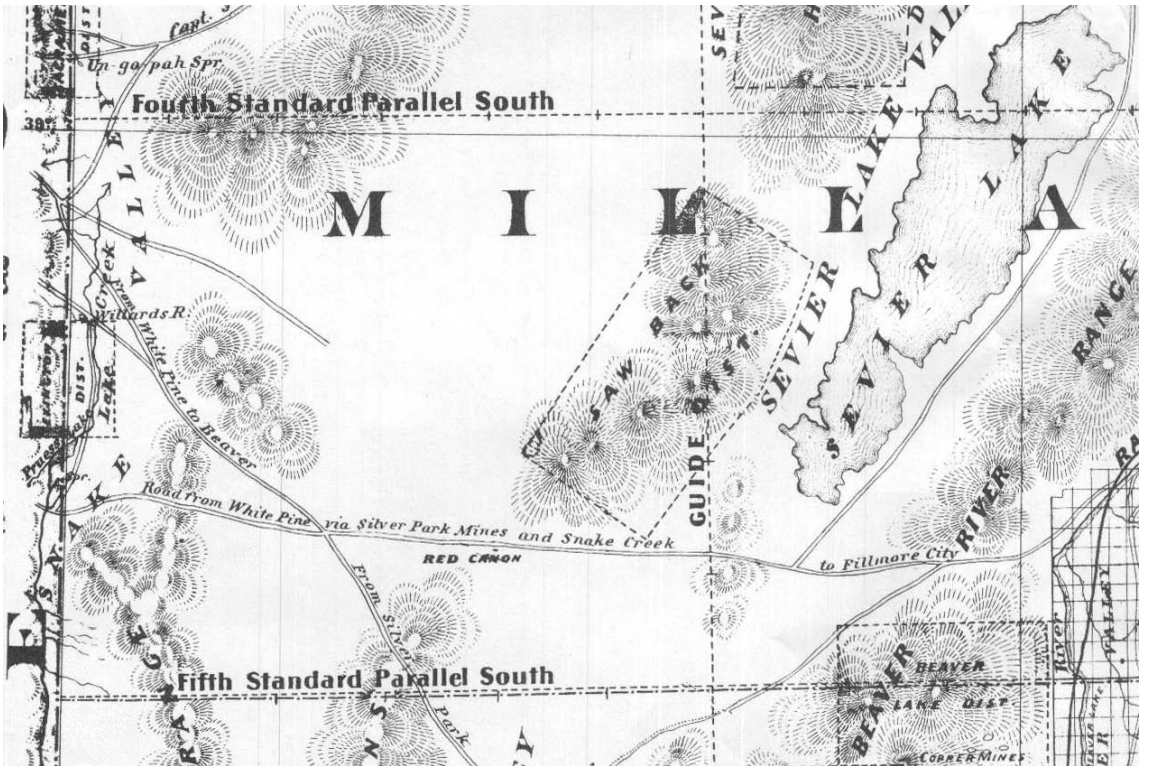

Figure 13. Detail of B.A.M. Froiseth's 1878 *New Section and Mineral Map of Utah*. Note, on the left edge, the misspelled inscription, "Pruess Lake." (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 9983.)

which Frémont's 1843 expedition determined was farther north than indicated on Burr's map.[59] Why Preuss also moved the lake west and had the Beaver River, which stops flowing west at longitude 113°, continue west another degree remains a mystery, but in so doing he set himself up for the only geographic honorarium he ever received.

In 2011, Bob Cornett of the Sharlot Hall Museum posed this question and answer: "What did history do for him [Preuss]? There is a small misspelled 'Pruess Lake' in Utah."[60] The answer to Cornett's question should not be so flippant. The lake at the end of Smith's "Lost River," as drawn by Burr in 1839, was relocated almost a decade later by Preuss to a site that would cause it to be mistaken for the lake found by the White Mountain expedition another seven years later. Burr, who may well have influenced Preuss to draw the Beaver River and lake as he did in 1848, may then have been the person to immortalize Preuss by seeing that this enigmatic little lake was named for him. The history of the naming of Pruess Lake reveals the efforts of his contemporary cartographers to honor Preuss; in doing so they tied him to the achievements of several of Utah's most important early American explorers.

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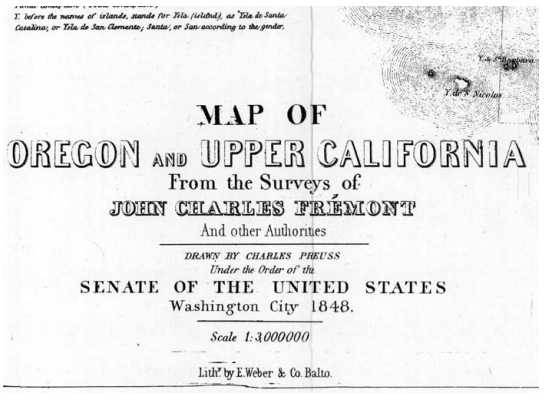
Web Extra



Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras to see the complete versions of several maps mentioned in this article, as well as to learn more about the lives of David H. Burr and Charles Preuss.

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Notes

1 John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 26, 305.

2 Edward Leo Lyman, "Rethinking Jedediah S. Smith's Southwestern Expeditions," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 281.

3 Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1954); Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the American West, 1540–1857; A Preliminary Study* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1954), 90–97.

4 The reference point of the Uintah Basin and Meridian was established in 1875 north of Roosevelt, Utah, and is the reference point of land surveys of the Uintah Indian Reservation in parts of Duchesne and Uintah Counties.

5 Charles Burr Todd, *A General History of the Burr Family, with a Genealogical Record from 1193 to 1891*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1891), 199.

6 Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 104.

7 Ibid., 106.

8 Charles Burr Todd stated that Burr opened "a large publishing house in New York City," an exaggeration of the scope of Burr's endeavor. However, when Todd's assertion is coupled with a statement of Walter W. Ristow, the former chief of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, that Burr had established a map publishing company it leads to speculation as to what had happened to Burr's company. Ristow's comment about Colton's purchase of Burr's copyrights also fits nicely with the timeframe of Burr's move to Washington D.C. Burr's move and new employment might have forced him to abandon his venture and sell the business, not just the map copyrights. This could be the foundation of Todd's assertion that Burr had "a large publishing house in New York City."

9 Ashley was initially elected to fill the seat left by Spencer Darwin Pettis, who died from a gunshot wound sustained in a duel.

10 Dale L. Morgan, ed., *The West of William H. Ashley: The International Struggle for the Fur Trade of the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains, and the Columbia, with Explorations beyond the Continental Divide, Recorded in the Diaries and Letters of William H. Ashley and His Contemporaries, 1822–1838* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1964), 323.

11 Todd, *General History of the Burr Family*, 199–200; David H. Burr, *The American Atlas, Exhibiting the Post Offices, Post Roads, Rail Roads, Canals, and the Physical and Political Divisions of the United States of North America* ([London?]: John Arrowsmith, [1839]), available from the Library of Congress, accessed February 8, 2015, hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3700m.gct00185. The Todd reference states that Burr traveled to London in 1846 to collaborate on the atlas, but *New York, Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820–1850* (ancestry.com) document a thirty-three-year-old David Burr arriving from Liverpool on the *St. Andrew* on October 13, 1836. Since the atlas was published in 1839, it appears that Todd's date was either a misprint or he had misinformation.

12 Burr, *American Atlas*; Will Bagley, *South Pass: Gateway to a Continent*, Kindle ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

13 Jedediah Strong Smith, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder*, ed. Maurice S. Sullivan (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1934). Sullivan stated the map was drawn in 1839, but misspoke. The map was *published* in 1839; it is unclear when it was drawn.

14 Morgan and Wheat, *Jedediah Smith*, 20. At that time, the "Western part of the United States" would have consisted of the territory acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. "Oregon," the area west of the Continental Divide north of Mexico, was not, prior to 1846, officially part of the United States. The "Northern part of Mexico" would have been the area south of the forty-second parallel and west of the Continental Divide; depending when the map was created, it would have included the present day states of Texas, Utah, Nevada, California, Arizona, and parts of neighboring states. The fact that the title does not mention the republic of Texas indicates the map may have been drawn prior to 1836. It is debatable, then, if the referenced map extended west to the Pacific Ocean and was the copy of the Smith Map.

15 Arrowsmith published another version of this map in 1842. David H. Burr, *Map of the United States of North America* (London: John Arrowsmith, 1842), available at David Rumsey Map Collection, accessed March 30, 2018, davidrumsey.com (hereafter DRMC).

16 David H. Burr, *North-west-Coast of North America and adjacent Territories . . .* (Washington, D.C.: Blair and Rives, 1840), available at University of Washington Digital Collections, accessed December 11, 2016, digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/cdm/ref/collection/maps/id/42.

17 Jedediah S. Smith, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827*, ed. George R. Brooks (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1977), 54.

18 Aird Merkley, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Beaver County Company, *Monuments to Courage: A History of Beaver County*, 2nd ed. (Beaver, UT: Beaver Printing Company, 1948), 209–211.

19 Fransico Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, *The Domíniguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, trans. Fray Angelico Chavez, ed. Ted J. Warner (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 70.

20 George M. Wheeler, *59. Southwestern Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Weyss, Herman, and Aguirre, 1873), DRMC, accessed February 8, 2015, davidrumsey.com. Beaver Lake might often have been the endpoint of the Beaver River when the flow was too low to continue north to the Sevier River. As with Sevier Lake, which is now commonly known as Sevier Dry Lake, Beaver Lake would have disappeared as water from the Beaver River was later diverted for irrigation after white settlement of the area. Wheeler, "Southwestern Utah."

21 At some point, Potts must have also told Jedediah Smith that the Sevier River (which he called "Ashley's River") also ended in a lake: Smith included it on his map without having personally observed it, having encountered the river too far upstream to deduce its mouth. The mountain men must have known of the existence of Sevier Lake because of the maps based on the explorations of the Domínguez and Escalante. A member of the party, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco produced a map that depicted the Green River flowing to Sevier Lake. In 1820, American cartographers Jedidiah Morse

and Sidney Morse published a map, *United States* that perpetuated Miera's error, as did other contemporary maps. (Chapter 4 of Richard Francaviglia's *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin* discusses several of these maps.) In 1824, Ashley and several men had taken bull boats down the Green River to prove that it flowed to the Colorado River, not a lake to the west. However, this information was slow to find its way to cartographers, and the Morses repeated the mistake on their 1828 version of their map. Maps based on the explorations of Ashley, Smith, and their men are the first known to correctly depict the Sevier River—as a river flowing to the lake once thought to be fed by Green (Buenaventura) River.

22 Morgan and Wheat, *Jedediah Smith*.

23 Van Cott, *Utah Place Names,* 305.

24 Preuss, like Burr, was born in 1803.

25 John Charles Frémont, *Map of an exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842 and to Oregon and north California in the years 1843–44* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1845), available from Library of Congress, accessed February 7, 2015, hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4051s.ct000909; Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Frémont*, trans. and ed. by Erwin G. Gudde and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), xi.

26 *Cong. Globe,* 29th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1847), 305.

27 Although Frémont receives credit for creating this map, it's debatable how much influence he had on it, beyond providing the records of his 1845–1846 travels. He would have been distracted by the disputes over his appointment as military governor of California, which led to a court martial that was not resolved until January 1848.

28 Todd, *A General History of the Burr Family*, 182, 200; *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval in the Service of the United States*, 1837, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1845.

29 Todd, *General History of the Burr Family*, 182, 200; United States Department of State, *Register of All Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval, in the Service of the United States*, 1837, 1843, 1847, 1849; David H. Burr, *The State of Texas, 1836–1845* (New York: Richard Swainson Fisher, 1845), available at Yale University Library Digital Collections, accessed March 30, 2018, digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/ref/collection/10261/id/2147.

30 Another intriguing change in the maps was the depiction of an east-west mountain range said to be part of the "Dividing Line between the Waters of the Pacific and the Waters of the Great Basin." In his report accompanying the 1845 map, Frémont hinted at the existence of the east-west range: "And in returning from California on the Spanish trail, as far as the head of the Santa Clara fork of the Rio Virgen, I crossed only small streams making their way south to the Colorado, or lost in sand as the Mo ha ve; while to the left lofty mountains, their summits white with snow, were often visible and which must have turned water to the north as well as to the south, and thus constituted, on this part, the southern rim of the basin." Particularly enigmatic is that in his 1845 map, Frémont provided a remarkably correct delineation of the Great Basin—given his limited exploration of the area—while the east-west portion of his new "dividing line" bisected it just below 38 degrees latitude. This implied that the southern third of the region was part of the Colorado River watershed and thus, "Waters of the Pacific." Why did Preuss and Frémont make such a drastic addition? Burr's 1840 map might provide a clue. On it can be found an east-west mountain range called the "Snowy Mountains." Preuss and Frémont's range was farther south, but Burr's map might have reinforced Frémont's belief that an east-west range existed, so he and Preuss placed it on their map. John C. Frémont, *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, vol. 1, ed. by Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 701. Richard V. Francaviglia discussed the possible origins of Frémont's error but came to no conclusions. Richard V. Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 87–89.

31 John Noble Wilford, *The Mapmakers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Frémont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848–1849 with Diaries, Letters, and Reports by Participants in the Tragedy* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1960).

32 *Cong. Globe,* 32nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1852); *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States on the Thirtieth September, 1853* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853); "The D. Griffing Johnson, A. J. Johnson and J. H. Colton Connection," *Geographicus*, June 13, 2009, accessed September 24, 2017, geographicus.com/blog.

33 Preuss, *Exploring with Frémont*, xxviii

34 George W. Colton, *Territories of New Mexico and Utah* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1855).

35 Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), 14–17, 79. White Mountain, in Millard County, is now known as Crystal Peak.

36 David Evans, "Report of the White Mountain Mission, 1855 July 17," 3, box 74, fd. 25, Brigham Young Office Files, 1832–1878, CR 1234 1, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

37 David H. Burr, *Map of the United States* (New York: Ackerman Litho., 1854), DRMC, accessed May 2, 2018, davidrumsey.com. This map depicted the Beaver River exactly as the 1848 Preuss map did. Burr also changed the names Jedediah Smith had used for the "Ashley" (Sevier) and "Adams" (Virgin) rivers to the names used on Frémont-Preuss 1848 maps: Nicolette and Rio de Virgen, respectively.

38 From late 1853 until Preuss's death, the presence of Burr and Preuss in Washington, D.C., would have again overlapped.

39 Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers,* 323.

40 Bagley, *South Pass*, 3892, 3822, 3830.

41 Colton's map of New Mexico and Utah changed the course of the Beaver River, but his United States map did not. This could indicate that Colton received last-minute information and did not have time to change both maps.

42 J. H. Colton, *Territories of Mexico and Utah* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1856), DRMC, accessed September 17, 2017, davidrumsey.com. This time, Colton's atlas was in one volume instead of two.

43 George W. Colton, *California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1865), DRMC, accessed May 2, 2018, davidrumsey.com.

44 George W. Colton, *California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico* (New York: G. W. and C. B. Colton, 1869), DRMC, accessed February 8, 2015, davidrumsey.com.

45 Bancroft was running a publishing house in San Francisco for his brother-in-law. On the 1864 map, he depicted the segment of the Beaver River from a few miles north of present day Milford north to Black Rock very accurately. How Bancroft did so is a mystery, because the river was not surveyed until 1870 by a contractor hired by the successor of David H. Burr. Hubert Howe Bancroft and W. H. Knight, *Bancroft's Map of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft, 1864).

46 Bancroft managed to put his Preuss Lake almost exactly on the hardpan, indicating that it—like the segment of the Beaver River he had mapped in 1864 (which persisted on the 1867 map)—had been geolocated through the use of sophisticated instruments. However, his lake on the Utah-Nevada border was still well south of the actual Pruess Lake.

47 Neither the 1864 nor 1867 maps depicted "Beaver Lake"; rather, it was drawn as an approximately one-mile-square "pond" on the 1870 survey plat of the area. I have found Beaver Lake only on Wheeler's map and those derived from it.

48 Hubert Howe Bancroft and W. H. Knight, *Bancroft's Map of the Pacific States* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft, 1867), DRMC, accessed September 24, 2017, davidrumsey.com.

49 Stott, *Search for Sanctuary.* The plat of the 1881 GLO survey of the area depicts the location of Brigham Young's house.

50 George M. Wheeler, *58. Parts of Eastern and Southern Nevada and Southwestern Utah* (New York: United States, 1872). Wheeler also gave the name of the mountain just across the border his own name. Wheeler Peak, now part of Great Basin National Park, is the second highest mountain in Nevada.

51 Samuel Augustus Mitchell and W. Williams, *Map of the United States and territories . . .* (Philadelphia: S. A. Mitchell, Jr., 1870), DRMC, accessed February 8, 2015, davidrumsey.com.

52 George M. Wheeler, *Report Upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 28. The "hypothetical lake" was Beaver Lake, misplaced one degree to the west. Wheeler must have interpreted the Bancroft map as depicting the flow of the waterway between the hardpan (which Bancroft called Preuss Lake) and Sevier Lake as running south from Sevier Lake. Which direction Bancroft thought the flow ran can be assumed from the 1845 Frémont-Preuss map in which the Beaver River flows north to the south end of Sevier Lake.

53 U.S. War Department, Chief of Engineers, *Map of California and Nevada, with Parts of Utah and Arizona* (Washington, D.C.: War Department, 1879); Joseph A. West, *West's New Sectional and Topographical Map of Utah* (Utah: Joseph A. West, 1885); both available at DRMC, accessed February 8, 2015, davidrumsey.com.

54 Asher and Adams, *Utah* (New York: Asher and Adams, 1874), DRMC, accessed February 10, 2015, davidrumsey.com.

55 B.A.M. Froiseth, *Froiseth's New Sectional and Mineral Map of Utah* (Salt Lake City: B.A.M. Froiseth, 1878).

56 George W. Colton, *Wyoming, Colorado and Utah* (New York: G. W. and C. B. Colton, 1886), DRMC, accessed February 10, 2015.

57 Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination*, 161.

58 Mosiah Hall, Charles Wright, and Don Maguire, *Relief Map of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Pierce and McMillen, 1895), available at Library of Congress, accessed May 2, 2018, loc.gov/resource/g4341c.ct000806/.

59 Frémont's expedition, unlike Smith's, had instruments allowing them to accurately determine the latitude and longitude of their location.

60 Bob Cornett, "Charles Preuss, the Reluctant Explorers and Mapmaker for John C. Frémont," *Sharlot Hall Museum*, August 20, 2011, accessed May 2, 2018, archives.sharlot.org/articles.

MEMORIALIZING THE DARK SHADOWS OF HISTORY

By Christian Heimburger

In the summer of 2017, two small Utah towns hosted events that commemorated controversial aspects of the state and nation's past. On July 8, more than four hundred people gathered in Delta to witness the dedication and grand opening of the Topaz Museum, an institution committed to preserving the Topaz incarceration site and narrating the experiences of the thousands of Japanese and Japanese Americans detained there during World War II. On August 5, a smaller group assembled in a restored airplane hangar in Wendover to observe the donation of a paper crane—one of around 1,300 cranes folded by Sadako Sasaki, a survivor of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima—to the museum at Wendover Airfield. While the reception of this rare historical artifact was in and of itself significant, the location of the event—the hangar that once housed the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 Superfortress that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan—imbued the ceremony with an even deeper meaning.

Although the local media provided only modest coverage of these events, their significance should not be understated. The events in Delta and Wendover are emblematic of a larger national discourse and demonstrate a profound local commitment to critically examining unsettling aspects of America's history. This essay introduces a piece written about the creation of the Topaz Museum by its founder, Jane Beckwith; a speech delivered in Delta by San Francisco attorney Donald K. Tamaki; and a speech given in Wendover by Edwin P. Hawkins, Jr., the former director of the Japan-America Society of Hawaii.

Japan's attack on the U.S. Naval fleet at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, set in motion a series of events that eventually led to the mass incarceration of Japanese and Japanese Americans living on the West Coast of the United States, as well as the decision to develop and later detonate an atomic weapon over two cities in southern Japan. Alleging that Japanese spies in Hawaii had facilitated the attack, a January 1942 congressional report referred to as the Roberts Commission report fanned the flames of wartime hysteria and reshaped the public's view of Japanese Americans.[1] Shortly after the Roberts Commission report was made public, western politicians, citizens, and journalists began calling for radical action.[2] Some U.S. military leaders—especially the commander of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt—pushed to remove all people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast based on "military necessity."[3]

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the creation of military defense zones along the West Coast where "any and all persons may be excluded."[4] In reality, only those of Japanese ancestry were targeted. Racial prejudice was an important factor in that decision. "While Pearl Harbor and World War II served as the spark," notes historian David Yoo, "the concentration camps represented the culmination of decades of race prejudice."[5] DeWitt's public statements exemplified and articulated the fears and prejudices that many Americans had concerning people of Japanese ancestry. In 1943, for example, DeWitt told a group of journalists, "The danger of the Japanese was, and is now—if they are permitted to come back—espionage and sabotage. It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen, he is still Japanese." When a reporter asked the general if he made any distinction between the Japanese, Italians, and Germans, DeWitt flatly replied, "You needn't worry about the Italians at all except in certain cases. Also, the same for the Germans . . . but we must worry about the Japanese all the time until he is wiped off the map."[6]

An image that speaks to resilience amidst difficulty. In this photograph, a mother sits with two young children upon their arrival at the Topaz camp in 1942. The contrast between the presentation of the family—with their clean clothing and careful grooming—and the starkness of the setting reveals much about the efforts of Japanese Americans to maintain their dignity during incarceration. (Utah State Historical Society, MSS C 125, box 2, no. 4-5.)

Within months of Roosevelt's executive order, the military removed en masse approximately 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry living in Washington, Oregon, and California—including children living in orphanages—and confined them in hastily constructed detention facilities, surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by armed guards. The removed could only take with them the possessions that they could carry and, given the short notice, many were forced to sell, rent, or simply abandon their homes and businesses.[7] By the fall of 1942, Japanese and Japanese Americans were moved from temporary to permanent incarceration camps that had been constructed in remote locations throughout the American West and Arkansas.

Among the ten incarceration facilities administered by the War Relocation Authority was the Topaz camp, constructed on a desolate piece of land sixteen miles northwest of Delta, Utah. The majority of the 11,000 Japanese and Japanese American citizens sent to Topaz were urbanites from the San Francisco Bay area.[8] As in other confinement camps, families incarcerated at Topaz lived in military-style barracks partitioned into cramped living spaces and spent much of their time waiting in line to dine in mess halls and bathe in communal bathroom facilities. Although the government provided jobs and built schools for residents in order to help them maintain a semblance of normal life, the unintended social and psychological consequences of camp life were severe and often long-lasting.[9] In a 1943 letter to the journalist Carey McWilliams, twenty-two-year-old Topaz resident Paul Asano articulated some of the frustrations that inmates felt:

> Surely anyone can understand that a multitude of problems, psychological and sociological, would arise when, for example, 8,000 people representing almost every class in society were concentrated in an area a mile square boxed with barbed wire and armed sentries, a family of six forced to live in an apartment 20 feet by 25 feet, and a mass unit of 350 persons ordered to eat in a community dining hall, wash in a community shower room, and play in a community recreation hall equipped with no facilities for recreation. This is the case of the Topaz Relocation Center situated in a Utah desert. Family life in such a society is shattered . . . a large percentage of unemployed adds to an atmosphere of despair and unhappiness. There is wholesale deprivation of fundamental necessities for a decent community and family life.[10]

Most incarcerees remained in the camps until 1945, often returning home to financial instability and continued racial prejudice.[11] For many Japanese American citizens, removal and three years of confinement left them questioning American ideals of liberty, equality, justice, and citizenship.[12] Still, as Yoo asserts, "In spite of the hardships and human costs, most individuals, families, and communities adapted, struggled, resisted, and survived this ordeal."[13]

As the United States government was detaining ethnic Japanese in confinement camps, the war against the Axis powers raged on in Europe, Africa, and the Pacific. In late 1942, Roosevelt approved the highly secretive Manhattan Project, the code name given to the atomic bomb development program.[14] This enormous research and industrial enterprise led to the construction of uranium enrichment, plutonium production, and weapons development facilities in Tennessee, Washington State, and New Mexico; employed over 600,000 workers; and cost nearly two billion dollars.[15] In September 1944, the Wendover Air Force Base in Utah was selected as the training and testing site for the 509th Composite Group, the weapons delivery unit chosen to drop atomic bombs on targets in Japan. While stationed at Wendover, the group practiced dropping "pumpkin" bombs—mockup devices made to resemble the atomic bomb designs developed at the Los Alamo laboratory—from a modified B-29. In May 1945, the group was transferred from Utah to the Northern Mariana Islands in the South Pacific.[16]

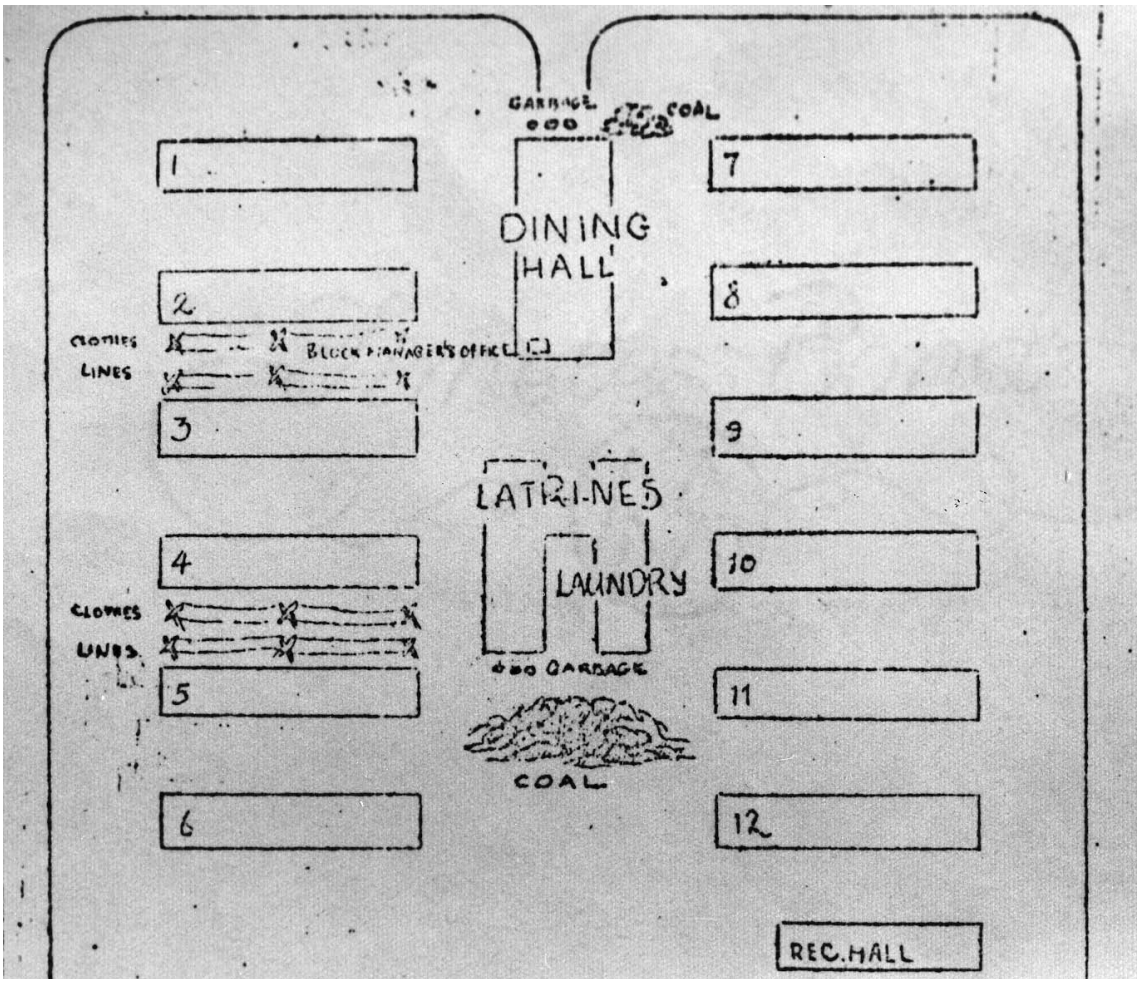
By the time scientists test-detonated the first nuclear bomb near Alamogordo, New Mexico,

in July 1945, the Allies' bombing strategy had largely shifted from precision bombing to one of "total war." On February 13 and 14, 1945, for example, British Royal Air Force and United States Air Force (USAF) aircraft dropped 4,000 tons of conventional and incendiary explosives on the German city of Dresden, creating a firestorm that killed or wounded 60,000 people, most of whom were civilians. The ferocity of the bombing campaign in Europe soon spread to the Pacific. On March 10, the USAF dropped thousands of cluster bombs containing napalm on the slumbering residents of Tokyo. These devices, combined with strong winds, generated a fire so hot that it reportedly boiled alive those who sought refuge in canals and swimming pools, and ultimately killed between 83,000 and 100,000 men, women, and children and wounded another million.[17] Some American military officials hoped that an aggressive bombing campaign, including the eventual use of an atomic weapon, would break the will of a government and people that they saw as fanatical, and that Japanese capitulation would save the lives of American soldiers who might otherwise have to participate in a planned invasion of Japan's mainland.[18]

In the early morning hours of August 6, 1945, three B-29 bombers took off from the North Field on Tinian Island en route to southern Japan. The lead bomber, recently christened the *Enola Gay*, carried a crew of twelve men and a single 9,700-pound nuclear bomb referred to as "Little Boy." At 8:15 AM, the B-29 dropped its payload on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, then home to an estimated 290,000 residents and 43,000 soldiers.[19] The atomic explosion created a massive, superheated fireball that quickly expanded. The people living closest to the point of detonation were instantaneously incinerated by intense thermal rays or killed by the effects of a supersonic blast wave that leveled nearly all physical structures. Those who survived the initial blast, including babies in utero and aid workers who entered the city shortly after the explosion, were exposed to dangerous levels of radiation. The first atomic bomb is estimated to have killed 110,000 civilians and 20,000 soldiers. Another 70,000 people died between 1945 and 1950 from radiation-induced illnesses.[20]

Although the causality figures resulting from this single bomb are almost unimaginable, statistics cannot convey the physical and psychological effects that the weapon had on the men, women, and children who endured the "living hell" of the blast and its aftermath.[21] Two-year-old Sadako Sasaki was among those who survived the explosion but were unwittingly exposed to residual radiation. Sadako was by all accounts a warm and vigorous youth, raised during the turmoil of post-war reconstruction. Affectionately known as "monkey," she became the fastest runner in her school by the sixth grade. In 1955, however, lumps began to appear on her body, and, shortly thereafter, she was diagnosed with acute leukemia and hospitalized. Inspired by a Japanese legend, Sadako folded nearly 1,300 delicate paper cranes with the hope that she would be healed from her illness. Her older brother, Masahiro, later recalled that folding the cranes "helped distract her mind from the sadness, the suffering and the pain." They were not "just any paper cranes," he remembered, but were "filled with Sadako's emotions." Tragically, Sadako died several months later—one of many lives extinguished by the first atomic bomb.[22]

Novelist Viet Thanh Nguyen has asserted that "All wars are fought twice—the first time on the battlefield, the second time in memory."[23] Americans continue to contend with the legacy of World War II. While many remember it as the "good war"—a conflict in which brave men and women wielded the "arsenal of democracy" to free the world from tyranny—others see the global conflict as the twentieth-century apogee of racism, injustice, and "man's inhumanity to man."[24] Because of this inherent tension, telling the story of America's involvement in the war is replete with controversy. Many Americans are accustomed to memorializing the countless acts of courage, sacrifice, and valor associated with the war, and are less enthusiastic about preserving the memory of their country's darkest wartime moments, such as Japanese incarceration or the use of the atomic bomb. And yet, these episodes cast dark shadows across the landscape of history that demand reflection and discussion.



Layout of the blocks at the Topaz camp. (Utah State Historical Society (MSS C 239, box 6, no. 47.)

For many years, Americans—including Japanese Americans—simply wanted to forget the war and move on with their lives. After the confinement camps were closed in 1945, many of the barracks and other buildings were demolished or sold. As the physical markers of the camps faded, so too did the nation's collective memory of this mass incarceration. In time, however, some Japanese Americans began writing memoirs of their wartime experiences and making pilgrimages to the former sites of their incarceration as a way to confront a painful past. Their efforts to preserve the memory of Japanese incarceration, along with the work of community activists, scholars, and politicians, led to the formation of a 1980 congressional commission assigned with reexamining the circumstances that led to Japanese removal and confinement. The commission later determined that the mass incarceration had not been justified by military necessity but was rather a product of "racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership."[25] In 1988, the U.S. government issued an official apology to the Japanese American community and offered survivors a modest redress payment.[26] More than just an apology, this act served as official recognition of a shameful chapter in the nation's collective past and set the stage for the preservation and interpretation of former confinement sites around the country.[27]

The United States' decision to use atomic weapons, as well as the stories of the men, women, and children who were killed or injured by them, continues to be a sensitive and some-

times acrimonious topic in the nation's ongoing discourse about the meaning of the war. In the early 1990s, the Smithsonian Institute's Air and Space Museum began planning an exhibit that would use an artifact—the *Enola Gay*—to explore the historical context surrounding the waning days of the war in the Pacific and the decision to drop the bomb. Curators also intended to show the human consequences of the bomb by displaying stories, artifacts, and images collected by the residents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[28] Fearing that the museum was using the exhibit to promote a revisionist interpretation of history that dishonored the sacrifice of American veterans, the Air Force Association, the American Legion, and conservative members of Congress lobbied to have the exhibit cancelled. Eventually, the planned exhibit was replaced by a simple marker identifying the *Enola Gay* as the aircraft that "dropped the first atomic weapon used in combat," and otherwise avoided nuanced discussion of the bomb's complex historical context or, notably, any discussion of its casualties.[29]

The controversy over the *Enola Gay* exhibit demonstrates that long after the final battle of World War II was fought, a war over historical memory has continued to play out in political discourse, school textbooks, museums and historic sites, and even popular culture. And although some Americans remain reluctant to examine the darker chapters in our nation's historical narrative—or to fully explore the deeply personal consequences of war—there has been, in recent years, a nationwide movement to create memorials or curate museum exhibits that offer a more balanced examination of human trauma and tragedy.[30] The establishment of the Topaz Museum and the donation of a tiny but culturally significant artifact to the museum at Wendover Airfield has huge implications for the state and signifies that Utah, like America, is beginning to confront some of the ghosts of its past. In time, perhaps, these kinds of honest meditations on our past will lead to more informed decisions in our future.

FROM A CLASSROOM ASSIGNMENT TO THE TOPAZ MUSEUM

By Jane Beckwith

Looking back, 1982 seems as if it were just a few blinks ago, punctuated by a whole bunch of high school graduations. Life is like that for a high school English teacher. Just when you talk a class into liking poetry, doing a little research, or laughing at lame jokes, they graduate! But sometimes, if you are lucky, you can get students interested in a bit of local history with national significance. That's what happened in my journalism classes at a small public school, namely Delta High, in 1982, when we embarked on an oral history project about the Japanese American internment camp that was located sixteen miles outside of Delta during World War II.

Delta was a boomtown in the 1980s, when construction of the Intermountain Power Plant attracted workers from all parts of the United States and Sweden. The streets were packed with trucks with Los Angeles Water and Power logos on their sides. Pick-ups from Texas were just as prolific. The city had to install a stoplight to allow people on the north side of town to get to the post office without taking a five-mile detour. Another elementary school was built on the south side of town. The new trailer park was full, as were all of the motels. Naturally, the high school was crowded with students who fell into two groups: those whose families had lived in the area since 1913 or so and those who had come into town on Tuesday. Instead of just one journalism class with ten students, I had two classes with about thirty-six students. It was all the editor of the school paper and I could do to think up fresh stories to assign them.

Right after homecoming, I knew I had to branch out and find stories outside of the school for them to write about. Another problem in class stemmed from the "two groups of students"—the newcomers did not like being in Delta. Too small, too boring, too far from anything. The

more they complained, the more the students with deep roots in the community seemed apologetic for the town. And since I was a teacher with deep roots in Delta, I, too, was tired of hearing the kids whose dads worked for Bechtel say, "When I lived in the Philippines" or "Saudi Arabia is a nicer place than this place."

They had no idea of the struggle it must have been to tame the Sevier River, deal with the terrible clay soil left from Lake Bonneville, endure the wind, give birth in a tent, or make a house from railroad ties! My grandparents had driven into the flat, lured by the Carey Land Act, just threescore years and ten before 1982.

Growing up after the war, I had always been fascinated by hearing my parents talk about Harry Yasuda, a man held in Topaz whom my dad hired to work in his newspaper office. Since that had occurred just forty years earlier, it seemed ideal to send those thirty-six budding journalists out in the community to interview people from Delta who had worked at the camp.

Wendy Walker was the editor of the school paper, and her enthusiasm for the project included asking her father, who had been a Navy pilot, to speak to the class. His story of returning home after many near-death battles in the Pacific ended with this question: "How could they ask me to lay my life on the line when the very things I was fighting for were being violated in my own backyard?" After hearing that, the students brought in artifacts and stories every day. In March many of them attended the University of Utah's conference on "Japanese American Relocation and Redress." There we met Leonard Arrington, Sandra Taylor, Dean May, and several people who had been in Topaz and had primary accounts that fascinated all of us. The Japanese Americans who embraced our work were the key to moving the project forward.

By the end of the year members of the class had won the right to compete in the National History Day event in Washington, D.C. But graduation harvested most of the students, and

Martha Knight's class of 1944–1945, Topaz Relocation Center. (Utah State Historical Society, MSS C 239, box 6, no. 65.)

I started over the next year. I was learning as much as my classes from my students and the artifacts that filled the big silver trunk in the closet.

Friends interested in Topaz helped create a 501(c)(3) organization, and we began asking for donations, saying we wanted to build a museum but having no concept of how to make that happen. Once the National Park Service began its Japanese American Confinement Sites grant program, we wrote a grant to design the museum. All the time the collection kept growing, with original artwork, furniture made at Topaz, shell jewelry, lanterns cast from cement, and more unusual artifacts.

When people constructed houses on the site itself, the Topaz Museum Board mounted a campaign to buy the 640 acres in parcels of 417 acres, then six, then 100. By working with the Conservation Fund, we now own all of the site with the exception of six acres. In 2007, the National Park Service designated the property a National Landmark, the thirteenth in Utah.

After we purchased a lot in Delta, the mayor, Gayle Bunker, championed our cause to construct a complex of buildings that would stretch along Delta's Main Street. However, that plan continued to be modified until 2012, when the Topaz Museum Board held one of many pilgrimages to break ground for the current museum, which was completed in May 2014. The museum opened in January 2015 with a wonderful exhibit of artwork done at Topaz in the Topaz Art School, an institution led by Chiura Obata and Matsusaburo Hibi.

The Topaz Art School exhibit was popular, and we received an encouraging number of visitors. With the generosity of donors, we went forward with the museum we had been planning since 1994. That exhibit was finished—sort of—by the July 2017 grand opening that brought 500 visitors to Delta for a day of celebration. If you visit the museum, you might be able to sense the complexity of the deeply troubling history of Topaz. We hope you will be convinced that we all have an obligation to prevent anything like it from happening again.

TOPAZ MUSEUM GRAND OPENING KEYNOTE ADDRESS JULY 8, 2017

By Donald K. Tamaki

Thank you, Bill. It's a pleasure to be introduced by Bill [Sugaya], who I know from community work in San Francisco and who has done so much to make this museum a reality.[1] I'd also like to acknowledge [two people present here today] distinguished member of the Utah Senate, Jani Iwamoto, a long-time friend and unfaltering voice for justice and the environment, and Leigh-Ann Miyasato, an attorney who, like me, served on the legal team representing Fred Korematsu in reopening his 1944 Supreme Court case for refusing to be incarcerated.[2]

In June, Jane Beckwith[3] took my wife Suzie[4] and me to the detention site. Not much remains but the concrete footings of the barracks that housed over 11,000 Americans.[5]

Out there, I imagined my mother[6] and father[7] and their families walking on the dusty, hardpan clay and wondering "how in the world did we end up behind barbed wire and surrounded by guard towers?"

My parents have passed—as well as most Americans confined in Topaz, including Fred Korematsu—so it occurs to me that, at least for today, I am their voice.

So for me, speaking to you is a profound honor because it allows me to tell Jane Beckwith, the museum board, the people of Delta, the National Park Service, the Friends of Topaz Committee, the many public and private funders, and all of you who have labored for many years—so generously donating your time and treasure—just how important your vision and your achievement are.

Of course this museum shines a light on a dark chapter of American history, but it also stands

as a beacon of what this country aspires to be: a nation with the integrity to acknowledge its wrongs, memorialize them in the hope that they are never to be repeated, and pass on to the generations—now and to follow—the meaning of the Constitution.

Speaking of dark chapters in American history, in the 1800s, the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were no strangers to discrimination. In the 1830s, hostile mobs in Missouri drove Mormons from their homes, forcing them to flee to Illinois, but in 1844 a mob murdered church founder Joseph Smith and, eventually, the Mormons were driven out of that state. In 1847—after years of violence and religious persecution in the eastern states—the Mormons fled to an area of the Great Basin that would eventually become the state of Utah.[8] Regrettably, the wrongs that were perpetrated against Mormons occurred at a time when prejudice prevailed—and facts didn't matter.

The rounding up of almost 120,000 Japanese Americans—70,000 of them American citizens by birth—also occurred at a time when, regrettably, facts didn't matter.[9] Let it be remembered that not a single Japanese American was ever accused—let alone tried and convicted—of espionage or sabotage.[10]

So what was their crime? They happened to look like the enemy. General John L. DeWitt concluded that their race made Japanese Americans inherently disloyal:

> The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many . . . born on United States soil, possessed of . . . citizenship, have become "Americanized," the racial strains are undiluted. . . . It, therefore, follows that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at large today. . . . *The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.*[11]

Wrap your head around that circular logic: the very fact that you've never committed a crime is a "disturbing and confirming indication" that you will commit a crime.

How did this happen? December 7, 1941: Within hours of Japan's attack, agents swept through Japanese American communities, arresting their leaders.[12] February 19, 1942: President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, empowering the military to designate Military Areas from which any persons could be excluded.[13] The next day, the eight most-western states were put under the authority of General DeWitt.[14] March 2, 1942: Dewitt issued Public Proclamation No. 1, designating all of California, the western halves of Oregon and Washington, and the southern half of Arizona as "Military Area 1."[15] March 21, 1942: President Roosevelt signed Public Law 503: "Whoever shall *enter, remain in, leave, or commit* any act in any military zone . . . shall . . . be guilty . . . and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine . . . or . . . imprisonment . . . or both."[16]

So imagine this room is Military Area 1—California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona—and you are Japanese American. You know you can't *enter* this room. Too late. This room has been your home for years. So you think you'll *remain*. Well, it's a crime for you to do that. So you decide to *leave*. Oops—that's also a crime.

So on March 27, 1942, General DeWitt issued an Order making it a crime for Japanese Americans to *leave* Military Area 1.[17] And on May 3, 1942, DeWitt issued another order, making it a crime for Japanese Americans to *remain* and ordering them into make-shift detention centers, taking only that which they could carry.[18] For many who ended up in Topaz, this was Tanforan—a horse track south of San Francisco where 7,800 men, women, and children were crammed into horse stalls, surrounded by barbed wire and gun towers—while ten more permanent detention camps were being built from California to Arkansas.[19]

This was the predicament confronting Japanese Americans—they were faced with diametrically contradictory military orders which simultaneously made them criminals if they *left* their homes *or* if they *didn't leave*. Obedience to one part of Public Law 503 would necessarily violate the other.[20] The only way that Japanese Americans could avoid criminal prosecution was to submit to indeterminate confinement in detention camps.[21]

Fred Korematsu was born in Oakland, California. Alienated from his parents, in love with an Italian American girl, and regarding himself as 100 percent American, Fred decided to evade the law.[22]

He tore up his enemy alien registration card, which had been issued to all Japanese Americans, he took the name "Clyde Sarah"; and, indicative of his desperation, he underwent minor plastic surgery to look less Japanese.[23]

On May 30, 1942, while waiting to meet his girlfriend on a street, he was arrested.[24]

While held at the Army stockade in San Francisco, Fred was visited by Ernest Besig of the ACLU.

At Fred's arraignment, the judge set bail at $2,500; adjusted for inflation, that's about $40,000 today. To Fred's surprise Besig wrote a check for the bail, gave it to the clerk, and said "c'mon Fred," and the two walked towards the courthouse door, only to be stopped by four MPs. Despite the fact that Fred had posted bail which would have allowed any other person to go free, DeWitt's orders prohibited him, as a Japanese American, from being in Military Area 1.[25]

So Fred was taken back to the stockade and thereafter to Tanforan and ultimately to Topaz. Fred wrote to Besig: "These camps [are] definitely an imprisonment under armed guard with orders [to] shoot to kill. . . . These people should have been given a fair trial in order that they may defend their loyalty at court in a democratic way."[26]

Fred tried to do just that at his trial in September 1942. "As a citizen of the United States I am ready, willing, and able to bear arms for this country," he said.[27] He testified that he had registered for the draft and tried to volunteer for the Navy; that he had never been to Japan, couldn't read Japanese, and spoke it poorly.[28] Still, the judge found Fred guilty of violating Public Law 503, but allowed a military policeman to take him back to camp.[29]

There, Fred's decision to appeal was a lonely battle. At Topaz, almost no one supported him and he was shunned by those who felt he would make their situation worse. Indeed, they had reason to worry—but not because of Fred.

In February 1943, the government administered two poorly worded and confusing loyalty oaths, one asking if they would serve in combat and the other asking them to give up allegiance to Japan.[30]

In response to the question if they would serve in combat, some answered *no* as a form of protest. Those who answered a qualified *yes—if you free my family* were interpreted by the government as answering *no*.

Regarding the question of giving up allegiance to Japan, the first generation—born in Japan but prohibited by racist laws from becoming citizens—wondered if this was a trick question, wherein answering *yes* might result in them having no country at all. Their American-born children felt pressured to answer in the same way as their parents, for fear they would be separated from them, and they wondered how they could give up allegiance to Japan when they had none in the first place.[31]

Answering *no* and *no* had dire consequences. They were labeled disloyal, removed from Topaz and other camps, and sent to the Tule Lake Segregation Camp in California where conditions were harsh—consisting of double seven-foot high fencing topped with barbed wire, nineteen gun towers instead of six, a stockade, multiple tanks, and a battalion of 1,000 soldiers.[32]

In the meantime, as Fred's legal challenge made its way up on appeal, the government defended the mass roundup on two grounds: first—the Army claimed that Japanese Americans were committing acts of espionage in the form of shore-to-ship radio signaling; and second—they argued that Japanese Americans were so culturally, linguistically, and racially different as a people, that you couldn't trust them to be loyal.[33]

In 1944, the court heard Fred's case and, to his surprise, he lost: a majority on the high court ruled against him, calling the incarceration a "military necessity."[34]

But three justices dissented, including Justice Robert Jackson, who scathingly wrote: "the Court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination . . . and of transplanting American citizens. The principle then lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need."[35]

What did he mean? Without evidence, charges, or trial, an entire racial population—men, women, and children—could lose their property, their livelihood, their freedom, and, for some, even their lives, on the bald assertion of the military alone that they were dangerous.

Scholars described the ruling as a "civil liberties disaster."[36] Fast forward forty years. In 1982, Professor Peter Irons, working with researcher Aiko Herzig, stumbled upon secret Justice Department documents.

Among them were memoranda written by Edward Ennis, a top Justice Department official supervising the drafting of the government's Supreme Court brief.[37] As Ennis began searching for evidence to support the Army's claims, he found precisely the opposite.

For example, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the lead intelligence agency responsible for the West Coast, recommended against the mass detention. It stated, "That, in short, the entire 'Japanese Problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people . . . it is no more serious than the . . . German [or] Italian . . . population, and . . . should be handled on the basis of the individual . . . and not on a racial basis."[38]

When Ennis discovered that the Navy had not only concluded that Japanese Americans posed no threat but recommended against the mass round-up, Ennis wrote to Solicitor General Charles Fahy: "I think we should consider very carefully whether we do not have a duty to advise the Court of the existence of [the Naval Intelligence] memorandum. . . . It occurs to me that any other course of conduct might approximate the suppression of evidence."[39]

Skeptical about DeWitt's claims that Japanese Americans were spying, Ennis called up a report from the Federal Communications Commission's radio intelligence chief, George Sterling, who wrote:

> The General launched into quite a discourse [about] radio transmitters operated by enemy agents . . . sending messages to ships at sea. . . . Since General DeWitt . . . seemed to believe that the woods were full of Japs with transmitters, I proceeded to tell him and his staff . . . of the FCC monitoring program. I know it virtually astounded the General's . . . officers. . . . Frankly, I have never seen an organization that was so hopeless to cope with radio intelligence requirements. . . . The personnel is unskilled and untrained. Most are privates who can read only ten words a minute. They know nothing about . . . [the] technical subjects so essential to radio intelligence procedure. They take bearings . . . on Japanese stations in Tokyo . . . and report to their commanding officers that they have fixes on Jap agents operating transmitters on the West Coast. These officers, knowing no better, pass it on to the General, and he takes their word for it. It's pathetic to say the least.[40]

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover similarly wrote back in response to Ennis' inquiry: "Every complaint has been thoroughly investigated, but in no case had any information been obtained which could substantiate the allegations that there has been illicit signaling from shore to ship since the beginning of the war."[41]

Caught in an ethical dilemma of not wanting to lie to the court, Ennis joined Justice Department lawyer John Burling in inserting a footnote in the government's brief, stating that DeWitt's claims were "in conflict with information in possession of the Department of Justice."[42]

Burling explained the importance of this footnote in a memo to Assistant Attorney General Herbert Wechsler: "You will recall that General DeWitt's . . . [r]eport makes flat statements concerning radio transmitters and ship to shore signaling which are categorically denied by the FBI and FCC. There is no doubt that these statements are intentional falsehoods."[43]

He further appealed to Wechsler for support: "I assume that the War Department will object to the footnote and I think that we should resist any further tampering with it with all our force."[44]

Well, the War Department did object. Under Secretary of War John J. McCloy called Solicitor General Fahy, who halted the printing of the brief.[45]

When Ennis learned of this, Ennis sent a memo to Wechsler "strongly recommending that the footnote be kept in its existing form," and attaching the FBI and FCC reports. He wrote:

> This Department has an ethical obligation to the Court to refrain from citing [DeWitt's claims] . . . if the Department knows that important statements . . . are untrue. . . . The general tenor of [DeWitt's] report is not only to the effect that there was a reason to be apprehensive, but also . . . that overt acts of treason were being committed. Since this is not so it is highly unfair to this racial minority that these lies . . . go uncorrected. This is the only opportunity which this Department has to correct them.[46]

Despite Ennis's protests, the footnote was deleted and, in its place, a new footnote was inserted asking the court to assume as fact DeWitt's claims, even though every intelligence agency had debunked them.

Thus, this attempt to alert the court that the mass detention rested on a foundation of falsehoods and fabrications failed. Was this relevant to the court's momentous decision? Justice Jackson wrote in his dissent:

> How does the Court know that these orders have a reasonable basis in necessity? No evidence whatever has been taken by this or any other court. There is a sharp controversy as to the credibility of the DeWitt Report. So the Court, having no real evidence before it, has no choice but to accept General DeWitt's own unsworn, self-serving statement, untested by any cross-examination, that what he did was reasonable.[47]

So it was on this basis—governmental misconduct—that a team of pro bono lawyers reopened Fred's case in 1983, erasing his criminal conviction for defying DeWitt's orders.

In throwing out Fred's criminal conviction, Judge Marilyn Hall Patel of the Federal District Court wrote about the Supreme Court precedent:

> It stands as a constant caution that in times of war or declared military necessity our institutions must be vigilant in protecting our constitutional guarantees. . . . [I]n times of distress the shield of military necessity and national security must not be used to protect governmental actions from close scrutiny and accountability. . . . [I]n times of international hostility . . . our institutions, legislative, executive and judicial, must be prepared to protect all citizens from the petty fears and prejudices that are so easily aroused.[48]

She wrote that in 1983—but its meaning resonates today.

In 2013, Governor Gary Herbert signed a declaration making January 30th Fred Korematsu Day in Utah. In articulating the reasons why Utah should have a Fred Korematsu Day, the governor's words also underscore why there should be a Topaz Museum. Of this history, he said:

> We ought to understand, we ought to embrace, we ought to learn from it, and *be better because of it* going forward. This is more about the future than it is the past.[49]

Indeed. This museum is more about the future than it is the past. By shining a light on where we've been as nation, this museum also lights the way ahead.

Yes, the story of Japanese Americans is about race prejudice—and the failure of democ-

racy—but it's also an American story about the meaning of the Constitution and of the faith, courage, and heroism of these Americans: as shown by the 14,000 who volunteered for the 442nd Regimental Combat team, becoming the most decorated unit for its size and length of service in the history of American warfare; as shown by the Japanese Americans of the Military Intelligence Service who served in the Pacific; as shown by those who took stands of conscience in defiance of DeWitt's Orders—even if it meant going to prison—so that the truth might one day be heard.[50]

And this is also the story about you, you here in this this room, who are doing so much to help our nation remember—and be faithful to—its highest ideals.

On behalf of all who were incarcerated at Topaz and the generations now and to follow, who will learn this story from this museum and make our democracy stronger because of it, I thank you.

HISTORIC WENDOVER AIRFIELD, UTAH AUGUST 5, 2017

By Edwin P. Hawkins, Jr.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, and a special welcome to Sadako Sasaki's nephew Yuji who joins us today all the way from Japan and the reason for gathering here today.

What a historic day, at this historic place, at this location, far away from major cities—just as Colonel Paul Tibbets envisioned.

Hiroshima and *Enola Gay*. These two words together hold so much meaning and emotion. It's hard not to be moved, standing here in the very hangar that *Enola Gay* sat. We are witnesses to history today.

For the first time, two sides, one representing those who dropped the atomic bomb, and the other, victim, come together in the United States of America, not with enmity in their hearts but with thoughts of reconciliation.

It's not an easy decision for either. One still harbors deep pain at the fate of one they loved; the other feels pride in the accomplishments of men who they consider heroes. Both strive to keep those memories alive.

We here do not represent Japan or the Japanese people; and we don't represent the United States or the American people. Nor do we claim to. But we and what we are doing here are representative of both. We share the noblest of human values: compassion for victims, and the willingness to overcome anger, distrust and hatred toward whose who committed the act. We believe, what Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe termed when he visited the USS *Arizona* Memorial in Pearl Harbor with President Barak Obama last December, in the "Power of Reconciliation."

And so we are gathered here today. Not to cast aspersion on the crew of the *Enola Gay* nor members of the Atomic Bombing Group, but recognize their service and heroism. At the same time, we remember the tragic victims of their act, the dropping of an atomic bomb, symbolized here by Sadako's paper crane. We can and should do both. Because by understanding these respective truths, we will be able to move forward, to promote mutual understanding and strive for lasting peace.

True reconciliation must include both elements. This act, presenting the very paper crane Sadako folded as she lay dying, in memory of the *Enola Gay* and the Atomic Bombing Group, this simple act speaks powerfully to the power of reconciliation.

I suspect few will fully appreciate what we witness here today. Maybe not now; perhaps in generations to come.

In closing, I want to express my deepest respect and admiration to Historic Wendover Airfield Museum Director Mr. Jim Petersen, and to Sadako's nephew Mr. Yuji Sasaki, for their courage and wisdom, for coming together at this historic place, to perform this act of reconciliation. Their act will serve as a legacy for future generations, so *they* will continue to keep alive these powerful stories, so *they* will understand the "Power of Reconciliation."

Colonel Paul Tibbets and the Boeing B-29 Superfortress *Enola Gay*. (Utah State Historical Society, photograph no. 18480.)

Notes to Heimburger

1 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), 264; Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 94–97; Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese-American Internment Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 40–41.

2 Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 94–97; Irons, *Justice at War*, 41.

3 John L. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 19, 33–38.

4 Executive Order 9066, February 19, 1942, Executive Orders, 1861–2011, General Records of the United States Government, 1778–2006, RG 11, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Available online from the National Archives, accessed April 2, 2018, catalog.archives.gov/id/5730250.

5 David Yoo, *Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–49* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 93.

6 House Committee on Naval Affairs, *House Resolution 30: A Resolution Authorizing and Directing an Investigation of the Progress of the War Effort: Part 3, San Francisco, CA, Area*, 78th Congress, 1st Session, 13 Apr. 1943, 739–40.

7 Dorothy Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, *The Spoilage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 9–17; Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 74–90; Catherine Irwin, *Twice Orphaned: Voices from the Children's Village of Manzanar* (Fullerton, CA: Center for Oral and Public History, 2008), 63–108. A comparatively small number of individuals living in Hawaii and Alaska were also confined in incarceration camps. With encouragement from the U.S. government, several Latin American countries removed residents of Japanese ancestry and deported them to the United States, where they were confined in smaller camps in New Mexico and Texas. Mexico and Canada also incarcerated ethnic Japanese residents or forced them to move away from the Pacific coast. Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 104–153.

8 War Relocation Authority, Central Utah Final Accountability Report, October 1945, available from *Topaz Japanese-American Relocation Center Digital Collection*, accessed April 2, 2018, digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/Topaz; Sandra C. Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert*: *Japanese American Internment at Topaz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 90, 104–110.

9 For more on the consequences of camp life, see Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial,* rev. ed. (1993; repr., New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 67; Lon Kurashige, "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest," *Pacific Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (2001): 407; Sandra Taylor, "Interned at Topaz: Age, Gender, and Family in the Relocation Experience," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (1991): 380–94; *Personal Justice Denied*, 297–301.

10 Paul Asano to Carey McWilliams, September 21, 1943, box 7, fd. 1A, War Relocation Authority Records, Collection number H1944.1, Special Collections, Honnold/Mudd Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California.

11 Greg Robinson, *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 43–61; Sandra Taylor, "Leaving the Concentration Camps: Japanese American Resettlement in Utah and the Intermountain West," *Pacific Historical Review* (May 1991), 169–94.

12 For examples of this, see *Personal Justice Denied*, 3, 11–15, 195–97, 299–301; Marion Konishi, "America, Our Hope is in You," June 25, 1943, box 4, fd. 11, Records of Attorney Donald T. Horn, Ms 0011, United States Japanese Relocation Center Records, 1942–1946, Tutt Library Special Collections, Colorado College, Colorado Spring, Colorado.

13 Yoo, *Growing Up Nisei*, 122–23.

14 Motivated by a fear that Nazi Germany might develop a nuclear weapon, scientists in the United States and Great Britain began exploring the feasibility of an atomic weapon in the late 1930s. President Roosevelt was informed that such a weapon could be made in October 1939, and in 1940 the U.S. government began funding atomic research. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' entry into the war added an additional sense of urgency to the work of atomic scientists and convinced FDR and other government officials to more aggressively pursue the development of the weapon. Albert Einstein to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, August 2, 1939, box 1, FDR-24, Series 1, Franklin D. Roosevelt Significant Documents, Significant Documents Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb, 25th Anniversary Edition* (New York: Simon Schuster, 2012), 377–389, 405–407.

15 Leslie Groves, *Manhattan District History, Bk. 1, Vol. 8* (1948), Appendix A, available on U.S. Department of Energy OpenNet, "Manhattan District History," accessed January 2, 2018, osti.gov/opennet/manhattan_district.jsp; Richard Hewlett and Oscar Anderson, *The New World, 1939–1946* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962),724–725.

16 David Hawkins, *Manhattan District History: Project Y, The Los Alamos Project*, (Washington, D.C.: Office of Technical Services, 1946–47), 281–91, U.S. Department of Energy OpenNet, accessed January 31, 2018, osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history/publications/LANLMDHProjectYPart1.pdf; George W. Marquardt, George W. Marquardt Hiroshima bombing reminiscences, circa 1950–1960, typescript, MS 31066, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; Robert Harder, *The Three Musketeers of the Army Air Forces* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2015), 95–107; Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 583–86.

17 David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in the Great Depression*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 743–44, 845–47; John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 39–41, 294; Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, 591–600; Account of Hidezo Tsuchikura, as quoted in Richard Frank, *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire* (New York: Random House, 1999), 12–13; Robert Guillain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning: An Eyewitness Narrative from Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 181–87; Hoito Edoin, *The Night Tokyo*

Burned (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 58–94; Joseph P. Tustin, *Why Dresden Was Bombed: A Review of the Reasons and Reactions (unclassified)* December 11, 1954, Historical Division, U.S. Air Force in Europe, 16–17; USAF Historical Division, "Historical Analysis of the 14–15 February 1945 Bombing of Dresden" (Research Studies Institute, Air University), 17–22.

18 These perceptions were partially shaped by Japan's use of kamikaze pilots and the belief that Japanese soldiers and civilians would fight to the very last man—and even commit suicide—rather than surrender to American troops (as evidenced by Japanese actions on Guadalcanal, Saipan, and Okinawa). As the historian John Dower has demonstrated, they were also shaped by racialized notions of the Japanese as subhuman, a "yellow horde," or vermin that needed to be contained or exterminated. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 33–57, 77–93, 293–94, 298–301.

19 Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb,* 701–716.

20 Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombs* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 22, 118–40, 359–69. Originally printed in Japanese as *Hiroshima, Nagasaki no genbaku saigai* (Tokyo, Japan: Iwanami Shoten Publishers, 1979).

21 Monica Braw, *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1991), 18. For contemporary accounts of the bomb and stories of the *Hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors), see John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 3–55, and Gaymor Sekimori, *Hibakusha: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (Tokyo, Japan: Kosei, 1986), 33–204.

22 Masamoto Nasu, *Children of the Paper Crane* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1991), 33–105; "Sadako and the Paper Cranes," *Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum*, accessed February 1, 2018, pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/exhibit_e/exh0107_e/exh01071_e.html; Masami Ito, "Brother Keeps Sadako Memory Alive," *Japan Times* (Tokyo, Japan), August 24, 2012, accessed January 2, 2018, japantimes.co.jp/news/2012/08/24/national/brother-keeps-sadako-memory-alive/#.WoiQGxPwalM.

23 Viet Thanh Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies: Vietnam and the Memory of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 4.

24 Quotation from Robert Burns, "Man was Made to Mourn," in Allan Cunningham, *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* (Boston, MA: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1855), 95–96.

25 Despite the military's insistence that Japanese Americans represented an imminent threat to the nation's security, the commission asserted that no "documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien on the West Coast." Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied, Part 2: Recommendations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), 3–5.

26 Public Law No. 100-383, 102 Stat. 903 (1988): 903–904.

27 Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2012), 3–4.

28 "Enola Gay Exhibition Script, 1994," box 1, Enola Gay Exhibition Records, 1993–1994, SIA.FA09-150, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

29 Paul Boyer, "Whose History Is It Anyway? Memory, Politics, and Historical Scholarship," in Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1996), 115–21; Marin Harwitt, *An Exhibit Denied: Lobbying the History of Enola Gay* (New York: Copernicus, 1996), vii–xiv, 392–94; Neil Lewis, "Smithsonian Substantially Alters Enola Gay Exhibit After Criticism," *New York Times*, October 1, 1994.

30 Examples of this phenomenon include the creation of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in eastern Colorado, the African-American Monument in Savannah, Georgia, and the National September 11 Memorial and Museum in New York City. This trend is also evident in Utah, as seen by memorials at the Mountain Meadows Massacre site or ongoing efforts to preserve the site of the 1863 Bear River Massacre, among others.

Notes to Tamaki

1 Hisashi Bill Sugaya is member of the Friends of Topaz Committee, an organization based in the San Francisco Bay Area dedicated to supporting the preservation of the Topaz Internment Camp where many Japanese Americans residing in the Bay Area in 1941 were incarcerated.

2 Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).

3 Jane Beckwith is the executive director and founder of the Topaz Museum.

4 Suzanne Ah-Tye.

5 "Topaz Camp," *Topaz Museum*, accessed April 4, 2018, topazmuseum.org/topaz-camp.

6 Iyo Grace Yamashita.

7 Minoru Tamaki.

8 See "Amici Curiae Brief of Scholars of American Religious History and Law in Support of Neither Party," filed in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, State of Hawaii, et al., v. Donald J. Trump, et al., Case No. 17-15589, April 20, 2017.

9 Peter H. Irons, *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Middleton, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), ix, x.

10 "A Brief History of Japanese American Relocation during World War II," *National Park Service,* accessed March 21, 2018, nps.gov/articles/historyinternment.htm.

11 John L. DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 34.

12 John Tateishi, *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (New York: Random House, 1984), xv.

13 Exec. Order No. 9066, 7 Fed. Reg. 1407 (1942); see also "A Brief History of Japanese American Relocation."

14 Public Proclam. No. 1, 7 Fed. Reg. 2320 (1942).

15 Ibid.

16 Pub. Law 77-503, 56 Stat. 173 (1942).

17 Public Proclam. No. 4, 7 Fed. Reg. 2543 (1942).

18 Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, 7 Fed. Reg. 3967 (1942).

19 Ronald T. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 394–95.

20 *Korematsu*, 323 U.S., Justice Owen Roberts, dissenting at 230–32 (1944).
21 *Korematsu*, 323 U.S., Justice Robert Jackson, dissenting at 243 (1944).
22 Lorraine K. Bannai, *Enduring Conviction: Fred Korematsu and His Quest for Justice* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 19.
23 Bannai, *Enduring Conviction*, 17, 35–36. All persons of Japanese ancestry were classified as 4-C, enemy aliens, even those who, like Fred Korematsu, were American citizens.
24 *Korematsu*, 323 U.S. at 215–16 (1944).
25 Bannai, *Enduring Conviction*, 52.
26 Ibid., 49.
27 Ibid., 65.
28 Ibid., 65.
29 Erick Trickey, "Fred Korematsu Fought against Japanese Internment in the Supreme Court . . . and Lost," January 30, 2017, accessed March 21, 2018, smithsonian.com.
30 "Loyalty Questionnaire," *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed March 21, 2018, encyclopedia.densho.org/Loyalty_questionnaire/.
31 "Tule Lake Unit," *National Park Service*, accessed March 21, 2018, nps.gov/nr/travel/cultural_diversity/tule_lake_unit_wwii_valor_in_the_pacific_national_monument.html
32 Ibid.
33 "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," *Korematsu v. United States*, 584 F. Supp. 1406 (N.D. Cal. 1984), reprinted in Irons, *Justice Delayed*.
34 *Korematsu*, 323 U.S. at 223–24 (1944).
35 *Korematsu*, 323 U.S. at 246 (1944).
36 See for example, Eugene V. Rostow, "The Japanese American Cases—A Disaster," (1945) *Faculty Scholarship Series* 2155, digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/2155.
37 Edward J. Ennis, Director of the Enemy Alien Control Unit of the Department of Justice, undertook supervision of the drafting of the government's brief. See "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 23.
38 K. D. Ringle to Chief of Naval Operations, "Japanese Question, Report on," January 26, 1942, memorandum, File BIO/ND 11BF37/A8-5, Records of the United States Navy; see also "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 148–49
39 Edward J. Ennis to Charles Fahy, Solicitor General, April 30, 1943, memorandum, File 146-42-20, no. 8 files, Department of Justice; see also "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 45.
40 "Conference with General DeWitt at San Francisco, Friday, January 9, [1942]," memorandum, Records of the Radio Intelligence Division, 173.11, Records of the Federal Communications Commission, RG 173, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.
41 J. Edgar Hoover to the Attorney General, February 7, 1944, memorandum, box 37, fd-Japanese Relocation Cases III, Series IV, Office of Solicitor General Papers, 1940–1945, Charles Fahy Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York; see also "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 59.
42 John L. Burling to Assistant Attorney General Herbert Wechsler, September 11, 1944, memorandum, File 146-42-7, Records of the Department of Justice.
43 Ibid.; see also "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 63.
44 John Burling to Herbert Wechsler, September 11, 1944.
45 John L. Burling to Edward Ennis, October 2, 1944, memorandum, File 146-42-1, Records of the Department of Justice; see also "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 64–65.
46 Edward J. Ennis to Herbert Wechsler, September 30, 1944, memorandum, box 37, fd. 3, Fahy Papers; see also "Petition for Writ of Error Coram Nobis," 66–67.
47 *Korematsu*, 323 U.S. at 245 (1944).
48 *Korematsu v. United States*, 584 F. Supp. 1406, 1420 (N.D. Cal. 1984).
49 "Utah Governor Gary Herbert Signs Declaration Establishing Fred Korematsu Day," *Deseret News*, January 30, 2013.
50 "442nd Regimental Combat Team," "Military Intelligence Service," and "Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee," *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed April 5, 2018, encyclopedia.densho.org.

VOICES FROM DRUG COURT: COMMUNITY-BASED ORAL HISTORY AT UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY

By Randy Williams

Jessie: *When I was 16, I started using drugs and alcohol, just for recreation (as most people do); it's fun. It eventually gets to the point where it's not. That just happened to take me about 18 years to get to that point. Over the last, I guess I'd say about four years of my life is when it's really become a problem: since I was 30. My brother died from alcoholism and I began drinking really heavily. I knew I was an alcoholic, but I couldn't do anything about it. I never really learned to grieve, so I would drink my feelings away. Then once I decided that it was probably going to kill me, I tried to quit drinking; and that's when meth came into play.*

Meth was my DOC [drug of choice]; and it became pretty prevalent in my life. And it gets to the point where it's pretty hard to pay for, so you start doing other things, which means getting yourself and making money off other people (which is what I was doing at that point in time). I never had any drug charges ever in my life. I'd never had any problems with drugs; I had just dabbled a little bit here and there until I quit drinking. When I signed up for drug court, I signed up with two sets of charges: a felony on each and several misdemeanors.

I was (at that point in time) in a pretty toxic relationship (long-term). So when I had gone to jail and did my 30-day dry out time, I kind of had a spiritual awakening and realized that that's not what I wanted to do with my life. So when drug court was offered to me, I asked people around me that I respected. . . . I remember one person, Judge Allen, actually, he told me, 'I think you'll be great at this; you need to ask yourself, and you need to not listen to anyone else, and you decide if it's right for you.'. . . And to this day [I] am so grateful that I signed up for this program.[1]

The logo of the Voices from Drug Court project. (Courtesy of Utah State University Special Collections and Archives.)

The terms associated with drug addiction in the United States often evoke conflict and strife. The "war on drugs," which has raged for nearly fifty years, uses martial language in its very title, as do the more recent efforts to "combat" opioid abuse. As with war, information about drug addiction is often portrayed on a large, impersonal scale, and the public perception of addiction often defaults to one-dimensional characterizations. Yet when viewed at the level of the individual, like Jessie, the experiences of drug addiction and recovery are filled with small details that build up to life-changing events. For addicts, their families, and others in their sphere—including friends, work associates, landlords, supervisors, teachers, police, counselors, and judges—the experience of substance addiction is very personal.

In an effort to avoid generalizations, Utah State University Special Collections and Archives (SCA) endeavors to collect and preserve multi-dimensional stories of Utahns by promoting community-based ethnographic projects. These projects have been especially important in collecting the voices of communities historically excluded from both public discourse and archival collections.

Community scholars are vital to carrying out all aspects of ethnographic fieldwork, from planning and drafting questions, to interviewing participants and engaging in public programming. Yet the concepts for the fifteen oral history projects carried out at USU since 2001 have originated with SCA faculty and staff. That changed in May 2016 when Andrew Dupree (full name used with permission), a Cache Valley Drug Court participant, now graduated, approached me with the idea of collecting the voices of this under-represented community. Dupree became familiar with USU's oral history program through a May 2015 presentation by the students of the 2015 Library of Congress/USU Field School for Cultural Documentation about the Cache Valley Refugee Oral History Project. He (A) shared the genesis for his idea in his April 2017 interview with co-directors Randy Williams (RW) and Jennifer Duncan:

> **RW:** The Cache Valley Drug Court Oral History Project started because of you. Do you mind explaining that?
>
> **A:** I went to the presentation for the oral history project that involved refugees here, at the Logan Library. I (obviously) came, because it was something that interested me. . . . As I watched the presentation, I saw many parallels . . . between the community of refugees and the community of us on drug court. Many of the things that you said, Randy, concerning the refugees, I felt also applied to us on drug court. I thought it would be an easy project in that way. That if you guys [USU] were doing one with the refugees, that it would be similar in many ways, and be a pretty easy project. . . .
>
> Right before the close of the presentation . . . you said that it was very important to you to do this work because, I think (to paraphrase you), you said, 'I'd like to give a voice to those who don't have a voice,' or who have very little voice. . . . That hit me really hard; it resonated with me, as someone who [was] currently on drug court at that time.[2]

Dupree's response clearly indicates that our work not only resonates within the primary target community but can also serve as a catalyst to encourage others to pursue oral history projects for their communities. He contemplated the idea of a drug court oral history project for a year before pitching it to me. During our interview, I asked Dupree about his year-long reflection about his oral history project idea.

> **A:** I thought about it constantly, very often. . . . But, along with being on drug court, and being a felon, and being someone who has been arrested, I [felt] like I didn't have a voice or a medium to express my voice. . . . There's a complex of inferiority that comes with the experience of being on drug court, and being arrested, and being a felon. And, so there's a lot of self-esteem issues, and confidence that comes with that. So, there was a lot of hesitation . . . . I was pretty nervous and scared approaching you, and talking to you. Especially as I sat across that table [from you], and you were really quiet. I didn't know you; I didn't know what to make of it. I was a little intimidated and a little nervous and scared.

> **RW:** And from my perspective, I kept thinking [of our first meeting], 'Wow; this is so interesting.' . . . I didn't know anything about drug court. I'd never heard of it before. And, so I think if I was quiet, it was because I just wanted you to tell me more about it.[3]

I was interested in pursuing the project with Dupree, but sensing his anxiety and high investment in the proposed plan, I did not want to promise anything that I could not deliver. Thus, after our first meeting, I approached the SCA board of curators and explained Dupree's request. I was delighted when my colleague Jennifer Duncan, the SCA unit head, also felt that the project was important and volunteered to work with Dupree and me on the project. Together, the three of us embarked on a collaboration that began by building trust—which is vital to any oral history endeavor—and learning from each other. Dupree taught us about drug court, addiction, and drug court culture. In return, we discussed with him oral history work: project planning, the USU institutional review board, grant writing, and research.

We learned that the first drug court began in 1989 in Miami-Dade County, Florida, as a response to the growing crack cocaine problem. In 2000, Judge Thomas Willmore in Utah's First District Court, with help from Brock Alder at Bear River Health Department, established a drug court for Cache County. In the United States today, there are over 3,000 drug courts in all fifty states.[4] By bringing together the judiciary, prosecution, defense, adult parole and probation, law enforcement, mental health and social services, treatment communities, like twelve-step programs, and the greater community (including former drug court participants), these specialized courts offer addicted offenders an opportunity for long-term recovery as opposed to incarceration.

I presented the project idea during summer 2016 to the Drug Court Committee and with support from Willmore and the USU Library, Dupree, Duncan, and I worked with Alder to create the Cache Valley Utah Drug Court Oral History Project. Its mission is to gather and preserve the information, experiences, and stories of Cache Valley Drug Court participants, their families, and members of the drug court committee, in order to enhance local, state, and national history. The project endeavored to collect equally the voices of men and women, as well as participants in the five different "phases" of drug court.

In September 2016, Duncan and I began attending drug court each Tuesday from noon to two o'clock. For the uninitiated, drug court can be overwhelming and, at times, heart wrenching. I openly wept many times. The emotions, incidentally, carried over during the interview process, where for the first time in my twenty-four-year career, I broke down in tears. Drug court put me on a very steep learning curve. My first day at drug court was my first day in any court. I took notes on terms ("phasing up") and phrases ("using dreams") during court and frequently peppered Dupree and Alder with questions. During the beginning weeks Duncan and I were at court, people were wary of us. Some thought we were narcs or reporters. Slowly, as Dupree told people about the project and us, the community became more comfortable and began talking to us and even sitting with us in court. By November 2016, when Willmore invited me to introduce the project at court, we were no longer complete outsiders to the drug court community.

From November 2016 to May 2017, Dupree, Duncan, and I conducted the interviews, sometimes together, sometimes two of us, and sometimes just me. Almost all the interviews took place at the Logan Library. In total, the collection includes twenty-six interviews with twenty-eight people. The interviewees were fourteen drug court participants (seven men, seven women), four family members (one man, three women), and the members of the drug court committee (eight men, two women).

For privacy, it was our protocol to take no photographs of interviewees and to use their first names only, with an option to use an alias or pseudonym (which no one did). Each participant who released his or her interview received a full transcript for vetting; many did review their transcripts.[5] The project received a grant to support transcription from Utah Humanities and the Utah Division of State History.

During the course of the project and afterward, Dupree, Duncan, and I shared information and lessons learned. The first opportunity came when Willmore asked me to speak at drug court graduation on April 18, 2017. In May 2017, as the project concluded, we hosted "Voices from Drug Court: Cache Valley Drug Court Oral History Project." This event was similar to the Refugee Oral History project event Dupree had attended in May 2015 that gave him the idea for a drug court project. We billed the event as "an evening of stories about the power and impact of Cache Valley Drug Court." The standing-room only crowd heard from five interviewees, including drug court participants, a Bear River Mental Health counselor, a family member, and Willmore. Dupree, Duncan, and I also spoke at the event. Subsequently, in October 2017, Dupree, Willmore, Duncan, and I presented "Cache Valley Drug Court Oral History Project: A Community-driven Oral History Effort," at the Utah State History Conference.

At all of our presentations we shared interview voices and project takeaways, including the concept that drug court is like scaffolding. In our first interview, Jessie (J) likened drug court to a brace system; she said:

> **J:** And you're going to have little epiphanies the whole time about yourself. You can't do drug court for anyone; just like you can't quit drugs for anyone else, it has to be you: your decision and you have to want it. I can only say that in my opinion it's worth it. . . . It's just showing you how to live life, and if you can get used to living your life like that. It's like *building braces around your life*, and then taking the braces out once your house is built. Like, once you have your life built, just take the braces out and it's still your life. They're just helping you get there; they're supporting you. . . . Whether or not you appreciate the support you get, but we need it, you need it. I mean, I sometimes feel bad for people that aren't on drug court . . . because I have so much more support than they do. Like you could just have a regular, average Joe suffering, like having a hard time in life, and I'm better off than him, because I've got the counselors to talk to; I've got a doctor to go see. . . . I'm taught these coping skills that he wasn't ever taught; and it's because of my opportunity in drug court . . . that I'm able to do that.[6]

Some participants shared ways that drug court could be improved, including increasing coordination with social services, such as the Division of Child and Family Services; providing diversity and sensitivity training for the drug court committee members; and addressing concerns about the penalties for spending time with "associations"—spouses or significant others who either use or who are also in drug court. During an interview with a couple in drug court, Heather and Ryan, Heather (H) talked about the difficulties of parenting while enrolled in drug court (and before, when she was using), involvement with foster parents, and associations.

> **H:** And so they gave me the option to get the kids back or do the adoption. I tried getting them back. And during that time I was still talking to Ryan, and I was getting in trouble for association. Every time that I got in trouble for associations, I would go back in jail. My caseworker would, of course every single time, come to the jail and tell me, 'You know, you're trying to get your kids back, but you're back in jail.'
>
> I would always tell her, 'Yeah, but I'm not using. This can't affect my case.' And she's like, 'Yeah, it can affect your case.' So it prolonged our graduating. We should have been done with drug court in January, and because we couldn't stop associating, it just kind of—it's been taking a while.[7]

During interviews, many people discussed the support that the drug court community gives to them, including in court, in "working the steps," in counseling sessions, and in activities that allow them to learn from each other, such as the pro-social reports that Willmore assigns participants. Group camaraderie is an important part of the program and court dynamic. Some interviewees talked about their desire to give back to this community upon completing drug court. Examples of how they might give back include serving as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) sponsors; attending drug court as supporters; volunteering at the Recovery Café, a center run by recov-

ering addicts that provides a venue for AA, NA, and other meetings; continuing participation at Bear River Mental Health with new clients; and by participating in the oral history project.

In their interview, couple Todd (T) and Cindy (C), spoke with Jennifer Duncan (JD), Andrew Dupree, and me (RW) about the drug court community and their efforts to repay that community.

> **C:** There's a group of us women that come in [Recovery Café] on Sundays, and band together, you know: help each other out. We sit around and we talk anywhere from an hour to two hours, before the meeting starts. So you know, trying to build those bonds. . . . I've never felt this anti-woman thing, but apparently, a lot of women do. They don't trust women, they have issues from their mothers, from friends, from sisters, whatever that have destroyed their relationships with women. . . . And so, about two years ago we started a women's meeting. And since then it went from like (sometimes) two women and last Sunday we had 15. . . .
>
> **JD:** So you often attend court also.... How long have you been doing that?
>
> **C:** Well I graduated in January of 2014, so three years. . . .
>
> **JD:** And I often hear the judge call on you.
>
> **C:** Yeah [laughs].
>
> **JD:** How does that feel? [Laughs]
>
> **C:** He [Todd] likes to talk more than I do; so [laughs] I prefer if he gets called on.
>
> **JD:** [Laughs]
>
> **C:** But sometimes, there's things like events with the Recovery Café that I know more about (because [I'm] more involved here). But, it helps me with that sense of purpose. Because if they know that there's a friendly face when they go to Job Club, maybe they're more inclined to follow through with the judge's orders, and actually go. . . .
>
> **RW:** At drug court (as Jennifer mentioned) . . . a lot of people [are] interacting with you. It's not just the drug court participants: it's the drug court committee, parents, spouses, or children of—
>
> **C:** Yeah.
>
> **RW:** People in the drug court. Can you talk a little about that camaraderie, or that sense of (if it is) a community that's there, in the drug court?
>
> **C:** I think where my interaction with the parents comes from is my mom. Through the whole time I was in drug court, my mom was in court with me every week I had to go. She didn't need to be, but it was something that she wanted to do. . . . A few people in there now [are people] that grew up in the same neighborhood as me. And [I] like being able to go up to one of their moms and say, 'Look, you're mad at the judge because the judge is being mean to your kid. But here's the deal, it's got to be this way.' And so it's nice to be able to like calm parents down, because parents can get really emotional in court: like way more emotional than their kids.
>
> **T:** I think on the question is it a community within itself? It is, exactly that. There is a live and vibrant community within (in probably all areas of at least this country, and many others) recovery communities. And of course, they're getting more prevalent today, especially with all the influx of the heroin and everything that's going on throughout the country.[8]

I agree with Todd: drug court is a community. It is a complex, multigenerational, beautiful community. The recovery community is more than what is portrayed in news report or movies. The stories of participants in drug court are individual and unique. Yes, there are some commonalities, but it is impossible—and unwise—to generalize. The voices from the Utah State University Drug Court Oral History Project help illuminate this vibrant story, a story that was lived, noticed, and preserved by the dedication of Andrew Dupree.

Web Extra

Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras for links to the entire Cache Valley Drug Court Oral History Project archives, as well audio from the 2017 Utah State History Conference session about the project.

[42:08]

RW: Again, this is a little bit personal, but you seem to be very affected by children in the court?

TW: Yeah. Well it's the very, very reason it all started, was those single mothers with children. [Emotional] To try to stop her from going through – [Stop recording for a moment.]

It's the very reason it started: to stop it to the next generation. And we know that the mothers can best do that, if we can help them then we've got a chance to stop it going to the next generation. And then I want them to see a successful mother (or a father); and I want them to see happy children when they come to drug court. Because there are some that don't have children and will have children. But I want them to see the struggles that those mothers or fathers had, and learn from that.

And we talk about that often, you've heard: to learn from other people's mistakes or problems.

And so I am very affected by the children.

RW: I have mentioned (off tape, mostly; but once on tape, which I don't do, it's not about me), but this project has been very emotional [for me].

TW: Uh-huh.

RW: For all of us that have been involved. How do you keep your stamina with this job?

Detail of a transcript from an interview with Judge Thomas Willmore. (Courtesy of Utah State University Special Collections and Archives.)

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Notes

1 Jessie, interview by Randy Williams and Jennifer Duncan, December 5, 2016, item 5, transcript, p. 2–3, Cache Valley Drug Court Oral History Project, Folk Coll 62, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah (hereafter Drug Court OH), available online at digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16944coll32/id/8/rec/4, accessed December 21, 2017.

2 Andrew, interview by Randy Williams and Jennifer Duncan, March 3, 2017, item 43, transcript, p. 2–3, Drug Court OH, accessed December 21, 2017, digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16944coll32/id/25/rec/42.

3 Ibid., p. 3–4.

4 "About NADCP," *National Association of Drug Court Professionals*, accessed December 21, 2017, nadcp.org.

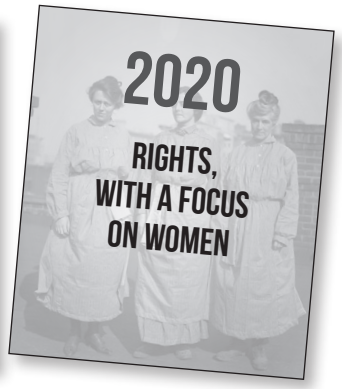
5 After one interview, the interviewee chose not to release her interview. Thus, the interview audio was not transcribed and not included in the collection.

6 Jessie, interview, p. 38.

7 Heather and Ryan, interview by Randy Williams and Jennifer Duncan, February 26, 2017, item 25, transcript, p. 4, Drug Court OH, accessed December 21, 2017, digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16944coll32/id/7/rec/25.

8 Job Club is a program at Workforce Services that Cindy volunteers for. Cindy and Todd, interview by Randy Williams, Andrew Dupree, and Jennifer Duncan, March 1, 2017, item 41, transcript, p. 51–53, Drug Court OH, accessed December 21, 2017, digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/sin-

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES OF UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



These special issues will contribute to our new editorial commitment to take a regional approach and to address historical themes that yield insight into contemporary issues.

A boat harbor on the Great Salt Lake, as photographed by the Utah Writers' Project in 1941. (Utah State Historical Society, Classified Photograph Collection, no. 9897.)

Depredation and Deceit: The Making of the Jicarilla and Ute Wars in New Mexico

By Gregory F. Michno

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. xiii + 336 pp. Cloth, $32.95.

Gregory F. Michno poses the following question: "Are there any lessons to be learned from studying the New Mexico frontier during the years 1846 to 1855?" If his book is any indication, there are several significant lessons to be learned in regards to understanding the ways in which government and local politics played out along the New Mexico frontier and in the borderlands area. As a result of the Mexican-American War, the New Mexican frontier became a mixing point for various groups, including Nuevomexicanos, Mexicans, Americans, and Jicarilla and Ute Indians, in addition to other local tribes. The author examines the Trade and Intercourse Acts, laws initially passed in 1796 but that underwent various iterations through the 1850s. These acts created a system in which whites could file claims for losses sustained from Indians along the frontier. The U.S. government then investigated and often paid out their losses. The army's presence in the area to protect both Indians and whites often led to an increased number of depredation claims filed. Michno argues that collectively these acts, which were established in an attempt to prevent conflict, became the leading cause in the Indian Wars of the nineteenth century. Instead of creating a more peaceful frontier, the acts were "manipulated by Americans . . . who through their greed and dishonesty may have precipitated the very wars that they claimed to abhor" (10).

The book progresses chronologically, with chapter one detailing acts of violence that occurred along the frontier against Americans, New Mexicans, and American Indians. Additionally, the large influx of settlers in the mid-nineteenth century meant that the Jicarillas were slowly being squeezed out of their own territory even as they worked to co-exist with the Spanish. The violence led to a request for more soldiers in the region, which then correlated with a spike in local depredation claims filed for supposed losses incurred. However, as Michno illustrates, a surprising number of those claims were fake and worked instead to defraud the government. In chapter two, Michno addresses how the arrival of '49ers from the California Gold Rush further heightened tensions in the area. These miners arrived to find that the lucrative tales of gold were lived realities for only a few, a discovery that caused frustration and tension between settlers and locals. As Michno astutely points out, "Americans who had fully bought into their system of capitalism, nevertheless seemed shocked when that system operated at full throttle against them" (57). Citizens continued to blame Indians for depredations, and, as detailed in local newspapers such as the *Santa Fe Republican*, this blame led to a demand for retribution against local tribes.

Chapter three delves fully into the deception within the depredation claims. It became evident that while locals reported that property thefts were being committed by Indians, many were actually carried out by American or Mexican bandits or, worse, had never happened at all. In New Mexico, as the so-called Staters and Territorials fought for power in the 1850s, the Territorials capitalized on perpetuating an atmosphere of fear. They filed claims and also benefited monetarily from army contracts that increased the number of troops in New Mexico. Citizens' businesses also benefited because of the Territorials' exaggerated claims of Indian violence. These claims forced the army to stay in the area, which lead to more business for

locals. Michno's work here also speaks to the importance of sheepherding in the American West, as sheep were one of the main pieces of property reported stolen. Businessmen profited by selling sheep to other states and then reporting them as stolen by Indians. Chapter four focuses on the growing tensions between settlers and colonists and the increase in depredation claims after 1851. The presence of more soldiers "correlated with more raiding fighting and killing," and while the army did its best to investigate and shut down the unfounded rumors of raiding and rebellion, more claims were filed (136). Thus, the irony lay in that "more warfare seemed to result in fewer claims, while more claims were filed during times of peace" (172).

The final two chapters detail how the settlers' increasing greed for Indian land and the need for power led to conflicts, first with the Jicarillas and then the Utes. By 1854, a general lack of trust had existed between the two sides due to the loss of tribal land and starvation for the Utes. This breaking point is the topic of chapter six, which discusses how the War of 1855 left both the Utes and Jicarillas defeated, with treaties still unjustly allowing settlers to use the Trade and Intercourse Acts to file fraudulent claims. Congress refused to repeal these laws, and settlers continued to prey on Indians.

Michno's work is an important and valuable addition to the history of the American West. Importantly, the author admits in the introduction that he had given white claimants the benefit of the doubt in his previous written work addressing Indian depredation claims. He later questioned the validity of these claims. This is methodologically significant in reiterating the importance of looking at history from multiple vantage points. Michno's reevaluation of that previous source material uncovered an overlooked history in which false depredation claims not only led to war, but also allowed U.S. entrepreneurs to take Indian land in a relatively risk-free way that secured their access to government money. While authorities may have initially been passive about this process, they became increasingly active participants in the deception, often facilitating the fraud and reaping the benefits of a commercial and security system created under the failed Trade and Intercourse Acts. The Jicarilla-Ute conflict impacted the development of New Mexico Territory, causing an era of warfare that had irreparable consequences for Indian tribes in the mid-nineteenth century.

— Jennifer Macias
University of Utah

Juan Rivera's Colorado, 1765: The First Spaniards among the Ute and Paiute Indians on the Trail to Teguayo

By Steven G. Baker. Foreword and translation by Rick Hendricks and illustrations by Gail Carroll Sargent.

Lake City, CO: Western Reflections Publishing Company, 2015. xix + 384 pp. Cloth, $69.95.

Historians and archaeologists do not like to admit when they are wrong—especially when a sacred cow is placed on the sacrificial altar. Juan Rivera's two expeditions, starting from Santa Fe and ending on the Gunnison River in Colorado during 1765, were just such a bovine. The historians Donald Cutter, Austin N. Leiby, and G. Clell Jacobs have each claimed that Rivera journeyed into Utah and arrived at Moab, where he carved his deed into a tree for all to witness. Two of these three scholars submitted their findings to the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, while two published books on the topic. Although well-intentioned and excellent researchers, they never checked internal geographical information found in Rivera's slim journal against the terrain supposedly traveled. Hence, a host of prominent Utah historians have accepted as factual a half-century misstep that made Juan Rivera the first recorded Spaniard to enter our state. While Ted J. Warner's editing of *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal* translated by Fray Angelico Chavez (1976) remains unchanged and perhaps the best single source of the fathers' expedition ten years after Rivera, much of the earlier material needs to be revised.

Enter Steve Baker, who possesses an archaeologist's eye for the land, a love of Colorado history, and an inquiring mind that checked Rivera's manuscript against previous assumptions. The result: a labor of love—this volume under review—that is heavily illustrated by photographs taken when retracing the route, illustrations by the artist Gail Carroll Sargent that reproduce period clothing and activities, and a series of maps that are clear and concise. There is no doubt as to the accuracy of what Baker insists is the correct route. Add to this the entire Rivera manuscript in Spanish, a translation by the historian Rick Hendricks, a historiography of the expedition materials and the Rivera project, and an explanation of the author's trail route methodology, and one has an exhaustive study of the two expeditions. This accomplishment was no easy undertaking since much of Rivera's route plodded through a landscape considered inhospitable even by today's standards. Many of the photographs that grace this work were taken from an airplane with site notations added. Baker has spared no effort in making this study as complete as possible.

For those unfamiliar with Rivera, he, with ten other men, set out to investigate rumors of bearded Indians living in an area called Teguayo far to the north of Santa Fe—most likely along the Wasatch Front. New Mexican Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín also charged the expedition with learning more about the Utes and other Indians to the north, locating trail networks, discovering fordable sites across major rivers, finding silver deposits to mine, and making friends with the people they encountered. The two trips conducted during the summer and fall of 1765 provided enough answers to encourage the Domínguez and Escalante travels ten years later. To that expedition, not Rivera's, goes the title of being the first documented Spaniards to enter Utah. What can be said about the Rivera group is that it laid the foundation for later travel, established friendly relations with Indian groups, and provided some interesting ethnographic information about the Utes.

Much of Baker's work centers on the geographical proof of Rivera's travels. Sprinkled throughout are encounters with mostly small Native American groups, who not only guided the explorers along favorable routes but also deceived them when traveling to keep them away from other Indians who might prove trade competition. Rivera's writing is terse, avoiding lengthy dialogue that would explain circumstances more clearly. For example, he mentions a number of Ute groups, including the Mouache—a southern Ute band portrayed in the historical record as residing far to the east in the area surrounding Denver. Other bands mentioned were known to inhabit the central Rockies of Colorado. Since Rivera's route took him north along the southeastern Utah–Colorado border, it appears that this band of Mouache were much farther west than traditionally described. This does not pose a problem for his argument since most bands covered hundreds of miles in their annual hunting and gathering cycle. While the Spaniards were not going to any length to identify Southern Ute bands, the Capote (in lower southeastern/central Colorado and northern New Mexico) and the Weenuche (in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah) are generally conflated as "Payuchi Utahs" or Paiutes. In both Ute and Paiute thinking, however, there is a difference between the two, even though they shared the same language. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco—the cartographer for the Domínguez-Escalante expedition—even indicated so by showing both tepees and wickiups interspersed as cartographic symbols in southeastern Utah on his map. While this issue is more complex than space allows, and while Steve Baker stayed close to what was written by Rivera, there should have been at least recognition and discussion of these three groups and their historical provenance in his work.

This book is an important study for academicians interested in Spanish borderlands history and Utah-Colorado history. It also appeals to the lay reader who likes to retrace the steps of explorers of yesteryear, book-in-hand.

— Robert S. McPherson (Emeritus)
Utah State University Eastern, Blanding

Isabel T. Kelly's Southern Paiute Ethnographic Field Notes, 1932–1934, Las Vegas

Edited by Catherine S. Fowler and Darla Garey-Sage

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016. 228 pp. Paper, $50.00.

In 1932, Isabel T. Kelly packed her camping gear into her new Ford sedan and headed to Kaibab, Arizona, for fifteen months of ethnographic research among Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi elders. As a twenty-six-year-old single woman, she traveled along dusty, remote roads to locate and interview thirty tribal elders in an approach she described as "how-it-was-in-your-grandfather's day." Although Kelly never completely synthesized and published her research, she prepared several short articles and monographs on her ethnographic research, and she subsequently had a long career as an anthropologist. Following her death, Kelly willed her unpublished field notes to Robert Van Kemper of Southern Methodist University, and her materials eventually made their way to Catherine Fowler, a renowned ethnographic expert on Paiute and Shoshone cultures.

This monograph, by Catherine Fowler and Darla Carey-Sage, weaves Kelly's eighty-year-old research into a cohesive ethnography that enriches our understanding of Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi life in the late 1800s. The authors have painstakingly organized and contextualized interviews with tribal elders in a way that brings their stories to life. What I found most appealing about this volume is that the text links the information recorded by Kelly directly to the interviewed individuals. Some of my Paiute friends consider personal stories to be the property of their owners. Perhaps with this thought in mind, Fowler and Garey-Sage provide the reader with the actual translated answers that Kelly recorded from her consultants, who include Daisy Smith, Mary Ann, Eliza Sackett, and Mataviam. Reading the volume brings their voices back to life. I can almost visualize Kelly sharing the shade of a giant cottonwood tree with Daisy Smith and her daughter Stella as they discuss the intricacies of fashioning a spoon out of a tortoise shell.

Fowler and Garey-Sage's meticulous efforts to reproduce Kelly's notes reward us with reproductions of the hand-drawn illustrations and maps she collected. The narratives provide rich and detailed accounts of the past that are remarkable for their depth and consistency. The monograph contains a wealth of new information on Southern Paiute/Chemehuevi seasonal food gathering strategies, settlements, material culture, social and political organization, medicines, recreation, trade, and ceremonies.

Historians and ethnographers will appreciate the monograph's trove of new data. Hopefully, Great Basin archaeologists will also listen carefully to the elders' words. Since the 1980s, the focus of many regional archaeologists has shifted from reconstructing cultural histories to understanding cultural change using scientific methods like the optimal foraging theory. Many archaeologists have forgotten the wisdom an ethnographic record can provide and the utility of the direct historic approach. During a recent symposium, I heard two presenters go to considerable lengths to explain scientifically the archaeological record. Had they read this monograph, the riddle of "What were they doing here?" would have been illuminated.

The publication of *Isabel T. Kelly's Southern Paiute Ethnographic Field Notes* is a tribute to Catherine Fowler's lifetime devotion to anthropology, brilliance, work ethic, and attention to detail. It captures Kelly's youthful exuberance and scholarly engagement and makes her important research accessible. We must remember, however, that none of this would have been possible without the elders' encyclopedic knowledge of their culture and their willingness to share their stories. We eagerly await the remaining volumes in this series and look forward to learning more about Southern Paiute history and culture.

— Heidi Roberts
HRA Inc., Conservation Archaeology

Mountain Meadows Massacre: Collected Legal Papers

Edited by Richard E. Turley, Jr., Janiece L. Johnson, and LaJean Purcell Carruth

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. xxxviii + 1056 pp. Cloth, $65.00.

In a news conference on January 16, 2018, following the announcement of his ascension to the presidency of the LDS church, Russell Nelson cited the Joseph Smith Papers Project as proof of institutional "transparency" when it comes to documents concerning Mormon history. As impressive as that "yard-wide" shelf of materials from the life of the religion's founder may be, more convincing evidence might be the energy the LDS church has put into revealing everything it has and more on the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857. The effort began in earnest in October 1998 when then church president Gordon B. Hinckley met with the Mountain Meadows Association Board (of which this reviewer was a member and there present) to discuss the construction of a new monument at Mountain Meadows. In that meeting, board members asked Hinckley for access to church archival holdings on the atrocity, specifically the David H. Morris affidavits. The Mormon leader looked at the historical department personnel sitting around him, who shrugged in response. Hinckley said, "I see no reason why not. Let the chips fall where they may." Several board members spent that very afternoon in the archives perusing the long-hidden Morris affidavits.

Subsequent construction activity on the new monument and the accidental uncovering of a mass grave kicked up an inevitable dust storm of renewed interest in the mass murder. Despite Hinckley's plea at the dedication ceremony on September 11, 1999, to "close the book of the past," the opposite occurred. There soon followed three major new books on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, all hoping to supplant the classic rendition of the story by Juanita Brooks (1950) as the definitive account of what happened and why, and of who bore ultimate responsibility for it. One of these was *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (2008), detailing the events leading up to and the massacre itself, by three eminent LDS scholars and church employees with full access to archival materials and the financial backing of the LDS church. In the aftermath of the volume's publication, one of the authors, Assistant Church Historian Richard Turley, announced that he was working on a second volume that would expose the "cover-up" of the affair. That study reportedly remains in progress, but in the meantime, the Church History Library has moved not only to keep Hinckley's promise to open its archival holdings but to publish much of it as well. In 2009, for example, the Church History Library published, in cooperation with the Brigham Young University and University of Utah presses, the Morris affidavits and the Andrew Jenson collection of documents relating to the atrocity.

Now comes this weighty compendium of "all the official primary documents pertaining to the investigation and prosecution of the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows Massacre—documents that are both extensive and widely scattered" (7). Under Turley's executive editorship, a notable contribution of the project is a "single, amalgamated record" of the trials of John D. Lee, provided after a painstaking analysis of the various versions of transcripts by LaJean Purcell Carruth (7). Also of high value is a reproduction of, and commentary on, Brevet Major James H. Carleton's oft-cited report of the massacre to William W. Mackall on May 28, 1859, with the addition of two addenda Carleton sent to Mackall later that summer. Consistent with the pattern of all groups of documents in this collection, the editors introduce the Carleton materials with an investigation into their creation and provenance and question the report's reliability. For example, they cite credible evidence that Judge John Cradlebaugh had a hand in crafting the Carleton report, which could raise some eyebrows inasmuch as it "has been a central source for massacre information since its creation" (206). In that regard, it is interesting that both Will Bagley (2002) and Sally Denton (2003) used the same summary sentence in the Carleton report as a major underpinning for their books' disparate theses: "This train of rich Arkansas Gentiles was doomed from the day it crossed through the South Pass and had gotten fairly down into the

meshes of the Mormon spider-net from which it was never to become disentangled" (219). For Bagley, it was Carleton's use of the word "Arkansas," and for Denton, the adjective "rich." Bagley argues that a major cause of the tragedy was revenge for the killing of Mormon apostle Parley Pratt in May 1857 in Arkansas, while Denton, echoing an earlier work by William Wise (1976), maintains that the Mormons and Indians slaughtered the emigrants largely for their wealth.

Two parts compose each volume. In addition to the Carleton documents, Part I—"Initial Investigations and Activities"—contains several other early reports of the massacre, various inaugural investigations, affidavits, and other official comments and proceedings. Part II consists of groups of legal proceedings against nine indicted massacre participants, from Isaac Haight and William Dame to Lee and John Higbee. Part III—"Trial Court Proceedings"—presents remastered transcripts of the two Lee trials as well as various materials related to them. The last section of the two volumes contains documents surrounding the Lee trials' aftermath, including his appeal and statements as well as petitions for his pardon. It concludes with documents pertaining to Lee's execution.

The editors enrich each part of the collection and each group of documents with extensive citation, analysis, and brief narratives of related events. They make every effort to present exhaustive and balanced questions and answers pertaining to every group in the collection. While many if not most of the documents (or parts of them) have appeared or are readily available elsewhere, any student of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, at whatever level and for whatever reason, must now regard this collection as absolutely indispensable. By itself, the recasting of the Lee trial materials makes the case for such a strong appraisal. This is a monumental and prodigious achievement toward advancing the ideal of transparency and full disclosure on the most horrific crime in Utah history, which is still "reverberating to this day" (6).

— Gene A. Sessions

Weber State University

NOTICES

Cowboying in Canyon Country: The Life and Rhymes of Fin Bayles, Cowboy Poet

By Robert S. McPherson and Fin Bayles

Indianapolis: Dog Ear Publishing, 2017. 235 pp. Paper, $20.00.

Through the words of Fin Bayles, a cowboy icon in San Juan County, Robert McPherson examines the life of a high-desert cowboy during the 1930s and 1940s. Bayles successfully captures excitement and emotion as he tells of his experiences through his homespun stories and poems. The reader gets a real sense of what it was, and still is, like to chase wild cattle over thousands of square miles of cedar trees and rocky labyrinths.

Although Bayles's recollections of his years in the canyons are extremely entertaining, a reality of hard work and danger also emanates from them. He recalls, for instance, the story of a horse and cowboy falling from a tall embankment and rolling over several times before hitting the bottom. Despite the serious injuries received by the rider, there was no modern rescue team complete with helicopter and EMTs. Bayles, although just a boy, put the man on a horse and escorted him many miles over rough country, finally reaching a spot where a Dodge Power Wagon could crawl up a dirt road and meet them.

Cowboying in Canyon Country may center on the collections of Fin Bayles, but it is enhanced by the skills of a master writer in organizing the story flow. McPherson begins each chapter with a narrative history of life in rural Utah during the Great Depression and a world at war. This sets the stage for Bayles to pick up the story and gallop away with it. *Cowboying* is not your typical collection of wearisome cowboy poetry but rather the entertaining and informative story of a man and his family trying to scratch out a living with horses and cattle in the canyon country of southeastern Utah.

Dime Novel Mormons

Edited by Michael Austin and Ardis. E. Parshall

Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books. 254 pp. Paper, $22.95.

Dime Novel Mormons, part of *The Mormon Image in Literature* series, is a collection of dime novels edited and introduced by Michael Austin and Ardis Parshall. It demonstrates how these ubiquitous and inexpensive stories reinforced common stereotypes about Mormons in relation to polygamy, savagery, and violence on the western frontier. The collection includes *Eagle Plume, the White Avenger. A Tale of the Mormon Trail* (1870); *The Doomed Dozen; or, Dolores, the Danite's Daughter* (1881); *Frank Merriwell Among the Mormons; or, The Lost Tribes of Israel* (1897); and *The Bradys Among the Mormons; or, Secret Work in Salt Lake City* (1903). The authors of these works referred to Mormons as Danites or Destroying Angels who befriended Indians and enslaved young women. These fictitious portrayals of Mormons contributed to negative public perceptions and fed into the mythology of violence in the West.

Pioneer Women of Arizona, 2nd edition

By Roberta Flake Clayton, Catherine H. Ellis, and David F. Boone

Provo: Brigham Young University / Deseret Book, 2017. 960 pp. Cloth, $49.99.

The latest edition of *Pioneer Women of Arizona* expands on Roberta Flakes Clayton's original 1969 anthology of Arizona women whom she interviewed and researched during her employment with the Works Progress Administration's Federal Writers Project. Catherine H. Ellis and David F. Boone saw *Pioneer Women of Arizona* as an under-used resource, and their new edition puts Clayton's work into a larger context of Mormon and western American history. It highlights what daily life was like for women living on the frontier. This edition also provides a biography of Clayton that details her own pioneer experiences. Ellis and Boone left Clayton's work largely untouched, focusing instead on restructuring the book to be easily accessible and providing a historical background of the region that can be useful to wide audience.

Evah and David Bigler, February 2014. (Photograph by Richard Paine. Courtesy of *Sun Senior News*, Roseville, California.)

IN MEMORIAM

David Louis Bigler, 1927–2018

The Utah State Historical Society and the West altogether lost an outstanding and original historian with the death of David L. Bigler. Dave received a Service Award from the historical society in 1992 for his research and work to preserve historic trails. He became a member of the Utah State Board of History in 1996, was made an Honorary Life Member of the historical society in 2004, and then a Fellow in 2010. Dave died January 31, 2018, in Roseville, California, at the age of ninety.

A Utah native of pioneer Mormon stock, Dave was born May 9, 1927, in Provo to Louis Burtran Bigler and Hazel Anderson and grew up in Salt Lake City. At Granite High School, he played on the tennis team. At age seventeen in November 1944, he enlisted in the Navy and served in the Pacific Theater for two years at the end of World War II. For at least part of that time, Dave was ranked as a Seaman First Class Radioman on the *USS Higbee*. Upon his discharge, he attended the University of Utah where he was editor of the *Daily Utah Chronicle,* the university's student newspaper, from 1949 to 1950. In 1950 Dave graduated with bachelor's degree in journalism and was one of eleven individuals elected to the Owl and Key honor society for senior men.

After a brief stint as a United Press correspondent in Salt Lake City, Dave was hired in 1950 by U.S. Steel at their Geneva plant as a training instructor in the industrial relations department. Later that same year, the military recalled him to Seattle, Washington, for active duty for

the Korean War. When he returned to Utah, U.S. Steel promoted Dave to staff assistant for training. In 1954, the company appointed him as the Public Relations Field Representative for its Cleveland, Ohio, district. In 1957, Dave returned to Utah from Ohio and became U.S. Steel's Assistant District Director of Public Relations for the Utah-Intermountain District of the company. Then in 1978, he was named Western Area Director of Public Affairs, an office that covered thirteen western states, and moved to the Bay Area. His rise in the company continuing, Dave was named to a new position, Director of Public Affairs West, in 1984. This meant a move to the headquarters of U.S. Steel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he oversaw public affairs in the southwest, southeast, central, mountain, and west coast districts. He lived in Pittsburgh until his retirement in 1986.

In December 1950, Dave married his university sweetheart, Barbara Daynes, when he was stationed in Washington State with the Navy. They had two children, Laura Gae and Mark Daynes, but their marriage eventually failed. On May 28, 1966, Dave married Evah Rae Christensen, born in 1934 in Salt Lake City. She likewise had been married before and had two children. It was a happy union for both of them.

Starting in the late 1950s, there seemed to be no limit to the professional, charitable, and educational organizations Dave participated in, many of which were related to his role in public relations for U.S. Steel. Dave managed to pursue his personal interests in the history of Utah and the West as well. He belonged to the historical societies of Utah, Wyoming, and Montana. *Utah Historical Quarterly* published his first history article, "The Crisis at Fort Limhi, 1858," in 1969. He became a founding member and first president of the Utah Westerners, and because of the corporate membership of U.S. Steel, Dave arranged to have the group's monthly meetings at the august Alta Club. While living in the San Francisco Bay Area in the early 1980s, he published four book reviews.[1] He was also an active member of the Oregon-California Trails Association, going on many of their field trips and becoming president in 1993–1995.

Although Dave had left the Mormon faith, he never lost interest in his pioneer ancestors and other trailblazers and settlers whose strength of character helped build the West. His great-uncle Azariah Smith and distant cousin Henry William Bigler were members of the Mormon Battalion. When the battalion dispersed in California, the two men went to Sacramento and found work building a mill for James Marshall, when gold was first discovered. Their two diaries are the only contemporaneous reports of the discovery that launched the Gold Rush in 1849. Dave had inherited Smith's diary and it became his great goal to transcribe and annotate it.

In 1986, U.S. Steel underwent a tumultuous year: a major reorganization, a work stoppage of 22,000 employees, a hostile takeover attempt, and a subsequent downsizing of the workforce. It seemed the right time to retire. With Evah's support, Dave left the company at age fifty-nine, and they moved back to California. After thirty-six years of corporate life, Dave was ready to embark on a new career in historical writing with the same energy and enthusiasm he had brought to public affairs for U.S. Steel.

Dave set to work on Azariah Smith's journal. He saw the period covered—July 1846 to September 1848—as the pivotal point when the West changed forever with the march of the Mormon Battalion, the discovery of gold, and the opening of Carson Pass over the Sierra Nevada. The journal of Henry W. Bigler had already been published, but here was another primary source of that crucial period. Dave's meticulous editing, knowledge of emigrant trails, abundant notes, added illustrations, and background information turned this humble pocket diary into an important document. The University of Utah Press published *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith* in 1990 to good reviews. Dave's career as a historian was launched.

The early 1990s saw two articles: "'O Wickedness, Where Is Thy Boundary': The 1850 California Gold Rush Diary of George Shepard" (edited with Donald Buck and Merrill J. Mattes) and "Garland Hurt, the American Friend of the Utahs." The latter article won the Dale L. Morgan Award from the Utah State Historical Society for the best scholarly article of the year.

The next few years were a prolific time for Dave. Between 1998 and 2003, he had four books published. Two of the books were edited works, one with his friend Will Bagley whom he knew from the Oregon-California Trails Association. *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847–1896* won the Best Book Award by the Westerners International in 1998, and *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives* won awards from both the Mormon History Association and the Utah State Historical Society.

Then between 2004 and 2008, Dave wrote a short article about Mountain Meadows Massacre; an essay on the Gold Rush and the Mormons; two significant articles, one of which reviews Utah's culture of violence in the mid-1850s and meticulously studies the murders carried out by Porter Rockwell and Bill Hickman; and *Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre*, edited again with Will Bagley.

Three years later in 2011, Dave and Will Bagley came out with another book, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857–1858*. In it, Dave and Will explore the Mormon millennialist and theocratic thinking of the period, which contributed to the Utah War, giving new insights on the conflict. This book won the coveted Western Writers of America Spur Award in the Best Western Nonfiction Historical category in 2012. It received other awards as well: the 2011 Smith-Pettit Best Book in Latter Day Saint History from the John Whitmer Historical Association and the 2012 Military History Award from the Utah State Historical Society.

At age eighty-eight, in 2015, Dave was honored with a book that collected several of his talks and articles: *Confessions of a Revisionist Historian: David L. Bigler on the Mormons and the West*, edited by Will Bagley with an appreciation by Polly Aird. Exhibiting not only the breadth and depth of Dave's historical research, the book also captured his bright sense of humor and generous spirit.

Dave and Evah settled in Roseville, California, near Sacramento, for their retirement years. In an interview in March 2014 with *Sun Senior News*, Dave credited Evah with much of his good writing: "Evah's my editor and my biggest supporter!" But Dave's own objective outlook, understanding of Mormon theology, accurate research, and clear writing certainly made her job easier. Dave and Evah belonged to the Pleasant Grove Community Church in Roseville, where Dave served as an elder for six years.

Robert A. Clark, the publisher of four of Dave's books, wrote to Will Bagley when he learned of Dave's death: "David's friendship, gracious generosity, and good nature seemed unending. He enriched my life in many ways, smoothing the rough patches and lifting up the good works of even those with whom he disagreed. Vaya con Dios." A fitting tribute to a remarkable man who brought fresh insights to the history of the mid-nineteenth century West, which he wrote about with integrity and spirit.

— Polly Aird
Seattle, Washington

Notes

1 Throughout his career, Bigler published some twenty-eight book reviews.

CONTRIBUTORS

POLLY AIRD is an independent historian in Seattle. She is the author of *Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector* (Oklahoma, 2009), which won the best biography award from the Mormon History Association in 2010. She is also the coeditor with historians Will Bagley and Jeff Nichols of *Playing with Shadows* (Oklahoma, 2011), winner of the best documentary book by the Utah State Historical Society in 2012. She has written for the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical journals.

JAMES M. ATON is professor of English at Southern Utah University and board president of the Colorado Plateau Archaeological Alliance. He is the author or coauthor of six books on the rivers, artists, and explorers of the Colorado Plateau.

JANE BECKWITH taught English for thirty-nine years and worked in an advertising agency for one year, while wishing she were still in a public school classroom. For more than three decades, she has worked to preserve the Topaz National Historic Landmark and create the Topaz Museum in Delta, Utah. Beckwith is currently the president of the Topaz Museum Board.

EDWIN P. HAWKINS, JR. is the executive director of the Office of Economic Development on the staff of the Mayor of the City and County of Honolulu. Born in Japan, son of an Air Force sergeant and a Japanese mother, he has spent a lifetime immersed in international affairs. As president of the Japan-America Society of Hawaii, Hawkins promoted cultural exchanges as well as reconciliation programs. A retired Air Force colonel, Hawkins is a graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy, Harvard University, and Japan National Institute for Defense Studies.

CHRISTIAN HEIMBURGER is a historian for the *Joseph Smith Papers* and a coeditor of the *Joseph Smith Papers, Documents: Volume 5* (2017) and *Documents: Volume 9* (2019). He received a Ph.D. in modern American history from the University of Colorado, Boulder, and wrote his doctoral dissertation on Japanese American incarceration during World War II.

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SHERI WYSONG is a self-described map geek who bought her first atlas at the age of thirteen. She graduated from the University of Utah in 1984 with a B.S. in Medical Anthropology. Due to the complete lack of demand for graduates in that field, she eventually found work with the Bureau of Land Management in the pre-GPS days and spent countless hours in Utah's West Desert, navigating her way with USGS maps. Studying historical maps led her to several interesting discoveries, some of which are shared in her article.

Children pile onto a Bennett Glass and Paint Company truck, Provo Canyon, July 15, 1916. This image belongs to a set of photographs apparently taken at a company picnic. Bennett Glass succeeded Sears Glass and Paint in 1900 and grew to be a large Salt Lake City business, despite a terrible fire in 1909. Newspapers of the era document that the workplace provided a launch pad for its employees' social life, as they took part in such things as amateur baseball associated with the company. Bennett Glass employees belonged to an especially active bowling team in the mid-1910s. As part of the Mercantile League, they regularly competed against C. R. Savage, Royal Bakery, Continental Oil, and Salt Lake Hardware teams, among others. All of this—picnics, bowling, baseball—indicates that some measure of socializing and identity was tied to employment in early-twentieth-century Salt Lake City. (Photograph by Harry Shipler. Utah State Historical Society, Shipler #17161.)

Outside the Denver and Rio Grande Depot, 1910. *Utah State Historical Society*

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BACK COVER

— The rock art of Ashley-Dry Fork has long attracted archaeologists' attention. *Photo by Dan Bauer*

FRONT COVER

— Nurses at Provo General Hospital, autumn 1912. *USHS.*

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